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## A PLAUTINE SOURCE OF *THE MERRY WIVES OF WINDSOR*

### I

Up to the present time the sources of much of the plot of *The Merry Wives of Windsor* have been untraced. In regard to these portions of the play Neilson's summary expresses the opinion of Shakespeare scholars: "The initial betrayal of Falstaff by Pistol and Nym, the disguise as Mother Prat, the pinching by the fairies, the underplot of the triple wooing of Anne Page, and all the characters save the commonplace of the jealous husband, seem to be original."<sup>1</sup>

In fact, however, ever since Shakespeare's day a source for all these elements of *The Merry Wives*, except the fairies' part of the play (and a suggestion for that exists therein), has been readily accessible to scholars, but it has been hitherto unnoticed. This source is the comedy of *Casina* by Plautus. That this drama served as a direct source for all that part of *The Merry Wives* not founded upon either *The Two Lovers of Pisa* or *Philenio*<sup>2</sup> the writer hopes to show in the following pages.

### II

Before the question of Shakespeare's indebtedness to Plautus is taken up, it seems best to review the existing theories as to the originals of *The Merry Wives*. The first suggestion concerning a

<sup>1</sup> *Cambridge Shakespeare*, p. 152.

<sup>2</sup> These sources are later considered and their contribution to Shakespeare's comedy defined.

source for the comedy occurs in Langbaine's *Dramatic Poets*.<sup>1</sup> There Langbaine calls attention to the resemblance in plot of the Shakespearean play to *Lucius and Camillus*, a novel in *The Fortunate, Deceived, and Unfortunate Lovers*.<sup>2</sup> He says that, although the stories in the collection were written since Shakespeare's time (the book was published in 1632), yet they are translations from the novels of Cinthio and Malespini, thus leading the reader to infer that Shakespeare, in Langbaine's opinion, had perhaps utilized an original Italian story. Unfortunately, the tale is not to be found in Cinthio, and Malespini's collection was not published until 1609, so that such an inference would be decidedly wrong.

Steevens<sup>3</sup> gives as possible sources tales from *Il Pecorone*<sup>4</sup> of Ser Giovanni Fiorentino and from the *Piacevoli Notti*<sup>5</sup> of Straparola. As quoted by Malone,<sup>6</sup> Farmer advances *The Two Lovers of Pisa*, a novel in *Tarleton's News out of Purgatory*, as a source. Malone himself believed that the Windsor setting of the comedy was suggested to its author by *The Fishwife's Tale of Brentford* in *Westward for Smelts* and that the plot came from a combination of *The Two Lovers* and *Lucius and Camillus*.<sup>7</sup> Another tale from Straparola, that of *Filenio*,<sup>8</sup> has also been cited as a source.<sup>9</sup> This story was translated by Painter and appears as Novel 49, Tome I, of *The Palace of Pleasure*.<sup>10</sup> It is there entitled *Philenio Sisterna*.

These various tales have all been taken to refer to the plot of the merry wives against Falstaff. In the story of *Filenio* and in the English version, *Philenio*, we find the lover paying his addresses simultaneously to three ladies who confide in each other and combine to revenge themselves upon him for his triplicity, so to speak.

<sup>1</sup> Ed. 1691, pp. 459-60. Gildon in his garbling of Langbaine omits any mention of *The Merry Wives*.

<sup>2</sup> Novel I. Reprinted by Hazlitt, *Shakespeare's Library*, III, 33 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Quoted by Malone, *Variorum Shakespeare*, VIII, 3.

<sup>4</sup> Day I, Novel 2.

<sup>5</sup> Night IV, Fable 4.

<sup>6</sup> *Loc. cit.*

<sup>7</sup> *Variorum Shakespeare*, VIII, 210.

<sup>8</sup> Night II, Fable 2.

<sup>9</sup> See, for example, Neilson, *op. cit.*, p. 152, or Hazlitt, *Shakespeare's Library*, Vol. III, where the tale is reprinted.

<sup>10</sup> Miss Porter and Miss Clark, in their First Folio edition of *The Merry Wives*, claim to be the first to point out that Painter translated Straparola's novel. W. G. Waters, however, in the notes to his translation of the *Notti* for the Society of Bibliophiles, London, 1898, mentions Painter's translation of *Filenio* (IV, 283).

Straparola in *Nerino of Portugal*—merely translated in the *News*—relates how a young man who is enamored of a lady unwittingly keeps her husband informed of the progress of his suit to her and how the husband seeks to take the two *in flagrante delicto*. To escape capture by the jealous husband Nerino hides successively in three places from his pursuers and so evades punishment. The novel of *Bucciolo* by Ser Giovanni and its English translation, *Lucius and Camillus*, are similar to *Nerino* in their general outlines. The sole resemblance<sup>1</sup> of *The Fishwife's Tale* has been noted above.

Of these stories five may be eliminated as probable sources for *The Merry Wives*. *The Fishwife's Tale*<sup>2</sup> and *Lucius and Camillus* appeared first respectively in 1620 and 1632;<sup>3</sup> hence they are out of the question as sources for the play. Ser Giovanni's novel (the original of *Lucius and Camillus*) has been set aside by some scholars because of their doubt as to Shakespeare's knowledge of Italian.<sup>4</sup> For the same reason the *Nerino* and the *Filenio* of Straparola would have to be passed over as sources. However, in regard to the three novels just mentioned a better cause than Shakespeare's problematical lack of knowledge of Italian exists for their rejection as probable originals for *The Merry Wives*. Both *Bucciolo* and *Nerino* closely approach in their plots *The Two Lovers of Pisa*; indeed that tale is a mere translation of *Nerino*. Therefore, the English novel may as well be a source as either of the Italian narratives. Besides, when an English version was available, one, moreover, contained in such a work as *Tarleton's News*, which traded upon the popularity of a famous comedian, and which was hence surely known to Shakespeare, it seems absurd to suppose that the

<sup>1</sup> Unless we find a very general and equally vague resemblance in the fact that both the play and the tale have to do with jealous husbands.

<sup>2</sup> However, Lee, *Life of William Shakespeare*, p. 247, gives, with *The Two Lovers*, Ser Giovanni's novel and *The Fishwife's Tale* as sources for Shakespeare's play.

<sup>3</sup> Lee, *ibid.*, quotes Malone and Steevens as saying that there was an edition of *Westward for Smelts* in 1603. As *The Merry Wives* was printed in 1602 and perhaps was first acted three or four years earlier, the situation is not altered. Malone, *Variarum Shakespeare*, VIII, 210, conjectures that the tales in *The Fortunate . . . Lovers* had appeared in English by Shakespeare's time. There is no evidence, however, of any edition of this work earlier than that of 1632.

<sup>4</sup> See Neilson, *op. cit.* The writer does not subscribe to the idea of Shakespeare's ignorance of Italian, for he knows of no good grounds on which to found such a belief.

dramatist resorted to an Italian original.<sup>1</sup> For the same reason one appears justified in considering that Shakespeare used Painter's translation of *Filenio* as found in *The Palace of Pleasure* and not the text of Straparola. It would seem then that *The Two Lovers of Pisa* (an English translation from the Italian published about 1590) and *Philenio Sisterna* (a translation also from the Italian dating from 1566) are the sources of *The Merry Wives* now usually recognized.<sup>2</sup>

A comparison, however, of *The Two Lovers* and the play shows that but part of the plot of the latter can be founded upon the novel. Nor, indeed, would the indebtedness really be any greater with any of the other versions of the same story named above.<sup>3</sup> *The Two Lovers of Pisa* resembles in nothing but its barest outlines a portion of the plot of *The Merry Wives*,<sup>4</sup> and the inclusion of *Philenio* as a source accounts for only one additional element in the play and that a minor one. To supply the hitherto unknown source for these apparently original portions of *The Merry Wives* is, then, the writer's task, and, as he has said, he believes that he has discovered that source in the *Casina* of Plautus.

### III

The most obvious resemblance of *The Merry Wives* to *Casina* is in the subplot of the former, that is to say, in the part of the Shakespearean play which deals with the wooing of Anne Page. Here Dr. Caius and Slender are suitors for the hand of Anne. Caius is favored by the mother, Slender by the father. Anne, however,

<sup>1</sup> Hazlitt seems to have been of the opinion that Shakespeare used *The Two Lovers* as a source for *The Merry Wives* rather than any other novel. He points out specific resemblances between the story and the play in his *Shakespeare's Library*, III, 66, note; 67, note; 69, note; 72, note.

<sup>2</sup> See Neilson, *op. cit.*, p. 152; Hart, *The Merry Wives* (Arden ed.), Introduction, p. lxxxi. Fleay's claim, *Biographical Chronicle of the English Drama*, II, 161, that the plot of *Wily Beguiled* "is identical with the Anne Page story" is rashly made. There is a very vague resemblance but nothing more.

<sup>3</sup> In *Bucciolo* and in *Lucius and Camillus* the lover, upon the occasion of his first surprise by the husband, is hidden by his mistress under a pile of half-dry linen. Upon the next visit of the lover he is hidden elsewhere, and the unlucky husband searches the pile of clothing. There is no basket and the clothes are not dirty, as in *The Merry Wives*. In *The Two Lovers* Lionello is hidden in "a great driefatte full of feathers." Cf. Hazlitt, *Shakespeare's Library*, III, 66, note.

<sup>4</sup> The most important differences between the novel and the play are pointed out later.



dislikes both these lovers, and herself prefers Fenton, a man of higher birth than either she or they. Each of the two parents intends to carry through a plot unknown to the other whereby Anne would be stolen away from a masquerade (the culmination of the trick on Falstaff) and wedded to one of the favored suitors. Both Caius and Slender run away with persons dressed as they have been told Anne would be clad, but return in great disgust, for in each case the supposed girl has turned out to be a boy in disguise. The imposture is discovered by each after the marriage ceremony has been performed. Then Fenton and Anne enter, and, disclosing that they have eloped and have been married, receive the parental blessing.

✓ In *Casina*, Euthynicus is in love with the slave Casina. Lysidamus, his father, who also is enamored of her, purposes to marry her to Olympio, his bailiff. Cleustrata, mother to Euthynicus and wife to Lysidamus, suspecting her husband's passion for the girl, favors her marriage to Chalinus, armor-bearer to Euthynicus. It seems understood that the newly wed husband (whether he is Olympio or Chalinus) shall act with suitable complacency toward his own master (Lysidamus or Euthynicus). After much squabbling between the two parties lots are drawn to determine which candidate shall wed Casina. Olympio wins and he and his master prepare for the wedding. After the feast Olympio is to pretend to start with his bride for Lysidamus' villa, but is in reality to repair with her to the home of a neighbor, Alcesimus, where his place is to be taken by his master. Discovering this plan through the means of Chalinus, Cleustrata disguises Chalinus as Casina, and he sets out with Olympio. Cleustrata, Myrrhina, her friend and wife to Alcesimus, and Pardalisca, a slave, watch outside the home of Alcesimus after the bridal couple accompanied by Lysidamus have entered it. First, Olympio reappears. After the bailiff has soliloquized upon the beating administered to him by the false bride and has related the particulars to Cleustrata, Lysidamus enters in great trepidation and confusion. Chalinus follows shortly in his feminine costume and confronts the two, who apparently have become aware of the supposed bride's sex and identity (the play is very defective near the end). Lysidamus asks his wife to forgive him; this she does and the two are reconciled. The epilogue states that Casina

will be discovered to be a free woman, the daughter of Alcesimus, and that thereupon she will be married to Euthynicus.

We find in both plays, then, the man and wife urging the claims of their respective candidates for the hand of a young girl (in *Casina* a slave, not a daughter). The maiden is in love with a third person—the son of the house in Plautus. A mock wedding occurs in which the bride's part is taken by a male, and from which results the discomfiture of the bridegroom (two of these ceremonies take place in *The Merry Wives*). Finally, the true lovers are united. Furthermore, the mother in both plays is assisted by a friend and by a female servant.

#### IV

In other respects the stories of the two plays resemble each other, and this likeness extends into the main plot of *The Merry Wives*. In the same manner as Cleustrata and Myrrhina conspire in *Casina* to bring Lysidamus to shame, Mrs. Page and Mrs. Ford in Shakespeare's comedy devise ways to expose the credulous amorosness of Falstaff to the general ridicule.<sup>1</sup>

It should be noted, also, that the merry wives make three attempts to break Falstaff of his passion for Mrs. Ford. Cleustrata in *Casina* tries three times after the lot-drawing (the beginning of Lysidamus' plot) to divert her husband from his pursuit of Casina. First, she attempts to embroil him with Alcesimus, whose house is necessary to the plan (III, i, ii, iv); next, she instigates Pardalisca's story to Lysidamus of Casina's madness in the hope of frightening him away from the girl (III, v); finally, she exposes him by means of the false Casina (V). In both plays the first two tricks are unsuccessful; the last stratagems, in each play the most elaborate, are successful. The final disgrace of both Falstaff and Lysidamus takes place before more of the dramatis personae than do the earlier attempted tricks; that is, they are more public.

Myrrhina—somewhat too philosophically perhaps—affects no jealousy of her husband Alcesimus. Likewise, Page expresses his

<sup>1</sup> In *Philenio* the three offended ladies do not publicly make Philenio a laughing-stock; in fact his revenge in turn upon them is more in spirit like the merry wives' trick upon Falstaff. Also each of the three ladies in the story plays a trick upon Philenio. That person, besides, is a young man, whereas Falstaff is advanced in years.

faith in his wife and refuses to believe that she would listen to Falstaff's lovemaking (II, i, 142 ff.). Just as Chalinus is privy to Cleustrata's devices against her husband and Olympio, so does Robin, Falstaff's page lent by him to Mrs. Page, undoubtedly understand what the two women are projecting against his master.

In Plautus' comedy, Chalinus, overhearing the plans of Lysidamus and Olympio, betrays them to Cleustrata, who sets in motion her counterplot for humiliating the conspirators. So Pistol and Nym, to thwart Falstaff's proposed seduction of Mrs. Ford and Mrs. Page, inform Ford and Page of their late patron's intention. Furthermore, as the old satyr Lysidamus is the butt of *Casina*, so is Falstaff the "vlouting stog" of *The Merry Wives*. The supposedly fortunate suitor of *Casina*, likewise, comes to grief, just as do the favored Caius and Slender in Shakespeare's play.

#### V

The scene of *Casina* is removed by Shakespeare from Greece to the Windsor of Henry IV's reign, and the Grecian citizens and slaves are transformed into a group of burgesses, country gentlemen, courtiers, and their hangers-on. Aside from its being mingled with the matter of at least one Elizabethan tale (or two, if the *Philenio* is counted), many other changes have been made in *Casina*, both in the action and in the characters.

In *The Merry Wives* the plot is built around two points: one, the jealousy of Ford, the other, the wooing of Anne Page. In *Casina*, however, the two are combined, and the hoodwinking of the old debauchee goes with the mock marriage. Jealousy is present in the Plautine comedy, but it is interwoven with the courtship motive. Cleustrata is jealous of her disreputable old husband Lysidamus and is nagging at him constantly. Shakespeare has turned the tables and has set a jealous husband to watching his wife. One should remember, also, that the disguise of Chalinus as the bride *Casina* deceives two persons, the husband Olympio and Lysidamus, while in *The Merry Wives* there are two bogus brides for the two deceived wooers. Plautus gives us no love scenes between Euthynicus and *Casina*; indeed, neither appears during the course of the action. Shakespeare, however, not only shows his young

lovers together, but brings them on the stage married at the conclusion of the play.

Rowe recorded<sup>1</sup> the tradition that Queen Elizabeth, having been highly pleased with Falstaff in *Henry IV*, commanded Shakespeare to write a play showing the knight in love. *The Merry Wives*, Rowe tells us, was the result. This story gains in credibility when we consider how *The Two Lovers* is altered. The aged Falstaff is made its hero instead of the young Lionello. The necessity of bringing Falstaff in as the would-be seducer—since he could hardly figure as the husband—accounts for this change in character. No doubt, too, the influence of Lysidamus in *Casina* contributes somewhat to this alteration.

## VI

The plot of the Plautine play is considerably changed in minor points in order to admit Falstaff into it. In *Casina*, Lysidamus, the prototype of Page, is old, cowardly, debauched, credulous, vain, and perseveringly amorous. Naturally enough these traits go to Falstaff, who had them with certain saving graces already indeed in *Henry IV*. Earlier critics have derived Falstaff from various classical originals—from the boasting soldier, as Pyrgopolinices in *Miles Gloriosus*,<sup>2</sup> or from the parasite, as Ergasilus in *Captivi*. However, a figure in Latin comedy which resembles Falstaff closely has hitherto been overlooked. This is that of the licentious old man, such as is Antipho in *Stichus* or especially Lysidamus in *Casina*. In fact it seems probable that the likeness of Lysidamus to Falstaff first suggested to Shakespeare the use of *Casina* as a source for *The Merry Wives*. Lysidamus is in love, it should be remembered. If we put credence in Rowe's tradition, which is mentioned above, we see here another reason why this particular Latin play would have appealed to Shakespeare as a source.

Lee says in his *Life of Shakespeare*<sup>3</sup> of the chief character of *The Merry Wives*: "Although Falstaff is the central figure, he is a mere caricature of his former self. His power of retort has decayed, and

<sup>1</sup> In his "Account" of Shakespeare's life, *Works* (ed. 1709), I, viii-ix.

<sup>2</sup> For example, see J. Thümmel's article, *Shakespeare Jahrbuch*, XIII, 1-12, and particularly Reinhardstoettner, *Plautus*, pp. 671 ff.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 152.

the laugh invariably turns against him. In name only is he identical with the potent humorist of 'Henry IV.'" With this opinion all readers of the play are in agreement. Why then should the Falstaff of *The Merry Wives* be no longer the Falstaff of *Henry IV*? The answer is that he is influenced by the Lysidamus of *Casina*. From the ready and resourceful old rascal of the historical plays he has become a gull—easily hoodwinked and falling into trap after trap, exactly the same kind of character as Lysidamus. In explanation of this fact it may be said by some critics that the unfortunate, but later successful, lover of *The Two Lovers* is transformed into the same figure. This is of course true, but Falstaff and Lionello both have been made over upon the model of the Lysidamus of Plautus.

The variations in *The Merry Wives* from the plots of the novels will be given below to show how far Shakespeare was from a blind following of *The Two Lovers* or of *Philenio* and how he adapted them as he did *Casina*.

In *The Two Lovers* the jealous husband Mutio is a very old man ("his age about fourscore") and his wife Margaret is young. Her lover Lionello is "a young Gentleman," who is attracted to her by her beauty, not by her husband's wealth. Their affection is genuine and mutual. Lionello confides his passion for Margaret to her husband "for that hee was olde and knewe much, and was a Physitian that with his drugges might helpe him forward in his purposes," and requests Mutio's aid in his suit to the lady, ignorant of course that she is the old doctor's wife. Thrice does Mutio surprise the two together; once Lionello escapes by hiding in a hamper filled with feathers, the next time by concealing himself in a nook between the floors, and the third time by being shut up in a chest of papers which is carried out from Mutio's country house when it has been fired by the jealous old man. Lionello does not suspect that his mistress and Mutio are man and wife until, as he is telling the story of his amours to Mutio and his brothers-in-law, he is warned of the facts in the case by Margaret's sending him a cup of wine with a ring in it which he has given her. He then turns the matter off by alleging that his stories to Mutio have been false and that he has told them to play upon the physician's jealousy. After this Mutio is mocked until he dies of chagrin; the lovers are then married.

In *Philenio* the hero makes love to three women, who learn from each other of his courtship of them and plan accordingly to revenge the slight upon him. They separately arrange assignations with Philenio in the course of which he is badly mishandled. Learning how the ladies have duped him, he in turn revenges himself upon them. In the Shakespearian play there are but two ladies and Falstaff makes no effort to avenge himself upon them for their treatment of him. The sole resemblances are in the making love to more than one woman, their finding out this fact, and paying the lover off for his indiscretion.

The couple who are attempting to direct a marriage in Shakespeare's comedy have no other point of disagreement than that which arises from the marrying of their daughter. That is to say, Shakespeare has taken the Lysidamus and Cleustrata of Plautus, has reversed their jealousy, making it unfounded incidentally, and has given it to his Ford and Mrs. Ford. The sole attribute of Lysidamus and Cleustrata preserved by Page and his wife is their conflict over Anne's suitors (in Plautus over those of Casina). On the other hand, their friends, the Fords, have the jealousy of Cleustrata and the intriguing of Lysidamus with the important difference that the husband is the jealous person and that his wife has no intention of being unfaithful to him. In other respects the Fords correspond to Alcesimus and Myrrhina, neighbors and friends of Lysidamus and Cleustrata.

Shakespeare's Shallow was probably introduced into the play because a second foolish old man seemed necessary to act as a foil to Falstaff, as Alcesimus in *Casina* sets off Lysidamus. The slave Casina is changed by Shakespeare into Page's daughter Anne, an heiress. It is important to note here again that in the Plautine epilogue *Casina* is stated to be the long-lost daughter of Alcesimus, and hence a free woman. If we consider that Shakespeare effected this alteration in the degree of his heroine before the opening of his comedy, instead of after its conclusion, the resemblance of the character is still more striking.

The two candidates for the hand of Casina—Olympio and Chalinus—Shakespeare has transformed, respectively, into Slender, Page's preference as a son-in-law, and Doctor Caius, Mrs. Page's



choice. Shakespeare's Pistol and Nym, who revenge themselves upon Falstaff by revealing his projects to Page and Ford, play a portion of the part of Plautus' Chalinus, who betrays to his mistress his master's plans in regard to Casina. The mutes who are stolen away from the fairy dance in Windsor Forest by Slender and Caius exercise the function of Chalinus as a bride. Dame Quickly is a Shakespearian version of the mischievous Pardalisca, maid to Cleustrata. Finally, it is not impossible that the Host of the Garter is expanded from the Plautine cook, Chytrio.

These redistributions of traits and remodelings of characters, which may seem complicated but which are not in fact difficult to follow, can best be summarized in tabular form:

| <i>Casina</i> | <i>The Merry Wives</i>     |
|---------------|----------------------------|
| Lysidamus     | Sir John Falstaff          |
| Lysidamus     | George Page                |
| Alcesimus     | Ford                       |
| Alcesimus     | Robert Shallow             |
| Euthynicus    | Fenton                     |
| Euthynicus    | William Page               |
| Olympio       | Abraham Slender            |
| Chalinus      | Doctor Caius               |
| Chalinus      | Pistol                     |
| Chalinus      | Nym                        |
| Chalinus      | Fairies in green and white |
| Chytrio       | Host of the Garter         |
| Myrrhina      | Mrs. Ford                  |
| Cleustrata    | Mrs. Page                  |
| Casina        | Anne Page                  |
| Pardalisca    | Mrs. Quickly               |

All the characters of Plautus are therefore, at least, paralleled in some form or other by Shakespeare. Only Sir Hugh, Bardolph, Robin, Simple, and Rugby are obtained from sources other than *Casina* or the *novelle*. Of these Bardolph<sup>1</sup> and the page occur in *Henry IV*,

<sup>1</sup> It is not impossible that Shakespeare's choice of the name Bardolph as a designation for Falstaff's red-nosed follower was a jest directed at a friend and colleague. In *Shakespeare's England*, II, 82-83, Oswald Barron quotes from a pamphlet, *A brief Discourse of the causes of Discord amongst the officers of arms and of the great abuses and absurdities comitted by painters to the great prejudice and hindrance of the same office*, the author of which was William Smith, Rouge Dragon Pursuivant: "Phillipps the player had graven in a gold ring the arms of Sir William Phillipps, Lord Bardolph, with the said L. Bardolph's cote quartered. . . ." This pamphlet dates from 1599. There seems a



Part II, as does Shallow, who takes over some of Alcesimus' functions. Sir Hugh, Simple, and Rugby are not found in any other Shakespearian play, nor is there a hint in *Casina* for any one of them, unless it be that Sir Hugh's part was suggested by the fight between Olympio and Chalinus in II, vi.

## VII

In the pages which follow, the relationship of *The Merry Wives* to *Casina* will be shown in detail. The various passages in Shakespeare's play which seem founded upon Plautus' comedy will be taken up in order.<sup>1</sup>

First,<sup>2</sup> Falstaff's belief that the wives of Page and Ford look upon him with favor, as expressed in I, iii, 48 ff., is derived from *Casina* (II, iii, 226-27). Here, after telling how he employs perfumes to make himself agreeable to Casina, Lysidamus says,

. . . . Et placeo, ut videor.

So Falstaff says of Mrs. Ford,

. . . . She gives the leer of invitation. I can construe the action of her familiar style; and the hardest voice of her behaviour, to be English'd rightly, is "I am Sir John Falstaff's."

The agreement of Pistol and Nym that they shall revenge themselves upon Sir John for his casting them off by informing Ford and Page of the knight's contemplated suits to their respective wives (I, iii, 99 ff.), seems suggested by the soliloquies and eavesdropping of Chalinus (*Casina*, II, vii, viii; III, ii). In the first scene cited, Chalinus, depressed by the victory of Olympio in the lot-drawing

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chance that the dramatist, by way of poking fun at Augustine Phillips' pretensions of descent from the Lord Bardolph of Agincourt, supplied the actor with a Bardolph of that period—specially invented—from whom he might, according to the facetious Shakespeare, be descended. Such might be the explanation of the Bardolph and Lord Bardolph of *Henry IV*, Part II. Surely it is possible that if in *The Merry Wives* the poet ridicules the family of Lucy he would not hesitate to laugh at a brother-actor.

<sup>1</sup> References are to the second edition of Lindsay's *Plautus* in the *Scriptorum Classicorum Bibliotheca Oxoniensis* and to Neilson's *Shakespeare* in the *Cambridge Poets Series*.

<sup>2</sup> Possibly Shakespeare in *The Merry Wives*, I, i, 10-11, meant to pun upon the Latin and English meanings of "armiger." To the Roman the word denoted "armor-bearer," a kind of servant; to the Englishman, "arms-bearer," or gentleman. Slender calls Shallow "armigero," and in *Casina*, II, iii, 257, occur the words, "armigero nill atque inproba" ("to the armor-bearer, worthless and base"). It should be noted that here we find the dative case of the word, the same form which Slender improperly uses.

of II, vi, expresses his disappointment. When Lysidamus and Olympio enter (II, viii), Chalinus, eager for revenge, conceals himself in such a way as to overhear their conversation. The master and his bailiff discuss their plans, and Lysidamus explains his project of Olympio's taking Casina to the house of Alcesimus, where he has arranged that the occupants shall be out of the way. Understanding now fully the grounds for Lysidamus' persistence in backing Olympio's suit and anxious for vengeance upon his rival, Chalinus hurries from the stage to reveal to his mistress what he has learned. This revelation of the perfidy of Lysidamus takes place off stage (Pistol and Nym betray Falstaff to Page and Ford before they enter [*The Merry Wives*, II, i]), but occurs by the time of Cleustrata's entrance at the opening of III, ii. Her jealousy before this time, it should be noticed, has been based upon suspicion, rather than upon actual knowledge. It may be well to call attention here to the fact that Ford is much disturbed over Pistol's tidings as likewise is Cleustrata over those of Chalinus, which she has just heard when she comes in at the opening of III, ii.

The next evidence of indebtedness to *Casina* in *The Merry Wives* appears in II, i. The scene in both plays is in the street. Mrs. Page enters and reads Falstaff's letter to herself. While she is indignantly vowing revenge, Mrs. Ford comes in. The two compare the letters which they have received from Falstaff. They then resolve to trick him. In *Casina*, II, ii, Cleustrata and Myrrhina meet as each is going to the other's house, the former intending to confide her troubles to her friend. Parts of their dialogue are taken over literally by Shakespeare. This is shown below.

*Mrs. Ford:* Mistress Page! trust me, I was going to your house.

*Mrs. Page:* And, trust me, I was coming to you. You look very ill [ll. 33 ff.].

Then Mrs. Page repeatedly asks the cause of her friend's trouble, until Mrs. Ford tells her of Falstaff's letter. Upon meeting Cleustrata, Myrrhina says (*Casina*, II, ii, 172 ff.),

Sed quid tu es tristis, amabo?

to which Cleustrata replies that her sadness is owing to her husband's follies and adds,

Nam ego ibam ad te.

Myrrhina responds,

Et pol ego isto ad te.

She continues,

Sed quid est quod tuo nunc animo aegrest?

Nam quod tibi est aegre, idem mist diuidiae.

It is only after some further persuasion, however, that she induces Cleustrata to share her troubles.

The comments of Mrs. Page (ll. 20-31) and of Mrs. Ford (ll. 64 ff., 101 ff.) upon their missives and their vows of revenge are founded upon Cleustrata's expression of her opinion of the character of her husband, Lysidamus, and her threats of starving and insulting him. In connection with this, it should be noted that Mrs. Ford suggests that the best way to punish Falstaff is "to entertain him with hope, till the wicked fire of lust have melted him in his own grease." Thus, Mrs. Ford, like Cleustrata, seeks vengeance upon her tormentor.<sup>1</sup>

This dialogue of Cleustrata and Myrrhina breaks off at the approach of Lysidamus. Myrrhina leaves the stage while Cleustrata steps aside. Likewise, the merry wives are interrupted by the entrance of their husbands, who are accompanied by Pistol and Nym. Both women then retire to the rear of the stage. The passage in *The Merry Wives*, II, i, 106-12, runs thus:

*Mrs. Page:* Why, look where he comes [Ford]; and my good man too. He's as far from jealousy as I am from giving him cause; and that I hope is an unmeasurable distance.

*Mrs. Ford:* You are the happier woman.

*Mrs. Page:* Let's consult together against this greasy knight. Come hither.

In *Casina* (II, ii, 213-16) occurs this bit of dialogue:

*Cl.:* st! tace.

*My.:* quid est?

*Cl.:* em!

*My.:* quis est, quem vides?

*Cl.:* uir ecceum it. intro abi, adpropera, age amabo.

*My.:* impetras, abeo.

<sup>1</sup> Here seems to be a borrowing from *Philenio*. The meeting of the three loves of *Philenio* and their exchanging confidences through which they learn of *Philenio*'s addresses to each seems the source. For the three tricks upon Falstaff later on, in *The Merry Wives* a hint, and little else, appears to have come from *Philenio*.

*Cl.*: mox magis quom otium et mihi et tibi erit, igitur tecum loquar, nunc vale.

*My.*: valeas.

Mrs. Page's "Look where he comes" is a nearly literal translation of Cleustrata's "uir eccum it."

*Casina*, II, iii, is a scene between Cleustrata and the newly arrived Lysidamus in which a quarrel arises, the beginning of which has been utilized by Shakespeare in *The Merry Wives*, II, i, 155 ff. After Pistol and his companion have left the stage, the two women advance to their husbands. Upon addressing Ford, Mrs. Ford is very sharply answered by him. As Cleustrata attempts to leave the stage, but is hindered by Lysidamus, so, reversing the action, Shakespeare has Ford bid his wife go home.

The quarrel between Caius and Evans which terminates in the abortive duel, I, iv; II, iii; III, i, has as one source the dispute of Olympio and Chalinus at the opening of *Casina* (I, i). The two slaves show first in this scene their rivalry for the hand of *Casina*. The other Plautine source for the duel is to be found in II, vi, 404 ff. Having arranged that the slaves shall draw lots for *Casina*, Lysidamus and Cleustrata (in much the same manner as the Host of the Garter brings about the farcical meeting of Caius and Evans) meddle with the hatred their servants have for each other and egg them on to exchanging blows.

The dialogues between Page and Caius, and Page and Fenton, III, ii, 61 ff., in which he tells them that he favors neither of them but Slender instead as a husband for his daughter Anne, are based upon *Casina*, II, iii, iv, v, vi. In these scenes Lysidamus and Cleustrata emphasize their support of the suits of Olympio and of Chalinus, respectively, for *Casina*. *The Merry Wives*, III, iv, 82 ff., shows Shakespeare's use of Cleustrata's part in the passages above cited. There, on being asked by Fenton for her good offices, Mrs. Page responds that she desires a better husband than Slender for Anne, but does not agree to aid Fenton. As Mrs. Quickly observes, Caius is the mother's choice.

*Casina*, III, v, which is one of the longest and most amusing scenes in the play, is the source of a number of passages in *The Merry Wives*. Pardalisca, Cleustrata's maid, enters in a pretended fright,

and after much persuasion on his part tells her master, Lysidamus, that Casina has become insane at the idea of marriage and, having got possession of two swords, has terrorized the occupants of the house. Lysidamus, however, is not to be diverted from his purpose, and he vows that insane or sane Casina shall be married as he has planned.

First, a hint for Falstaff's escape from the jealous Ford in the basket of soiled linen<sup>1</sup> (III, iii) occurs in *Casina*, III, v, 664. There Pardalisca tells how the household, to avoid the mad fury of Casina, hid under boxes and beds. The terror of Falstaff at Ford's approach in the scene above cited corresponds to that of Lysidamus in the Plautine play when Pardalisca tells him of Casina's threat against his life.<sup>2</sup>

Fenton's bribe to Mrs. Quickly to secure her in his interest (III, iv, 104) seems founded upon Lysidamus' presents to Pardalisca (ll. 708 ff.). Lysidamus' intention is by means of them to influence the maid so that she will entreat Cleustrata to prevail on Casina to lay aside the arms which Pardalisca reports she has taken up. Thus it will be safe for Lysidamus to enter the house.

Next, Mrs. Quickly's errand (IV, v) is based upon Pardalisca's acting as an emissary of Cleustrata in the same scene.<sup>3</sup> Mrs. Quickly's aim, like that of Pardalisca, is to draw the prospective old dupe—Falstaff in *The Merry Wives*, Lysidamus in *Casina*—into the trap set by the wives. First, however, Pardalisca attempts, apparently by means of her story of Casina's frenzy, to dissuade Lysidamus from proceeding further in his intrigue, but she is unsuccessful in her endeavor. There is nothing to correspond in *The Merry Wives*. There Mrs. Quickly's sole object is so to manage that Falstaff shall agree to meet the two women in Windsor Forest, and it is only after some difficulty that she accomplishes it in V, i.

<sup>1</sup> This incident is almost certainly derived from *The Two Lovers*, yet the fact that a suggestion for it occurs in the Latin play should not be overlooked, since Plautus' incident may have aided in impressing Shakespeare with the comic possibilities of the trick.

<sup>2</sup> Here again the Latin play and the English novel both offer sources for incidents in *The Merry Wives*.

<sup>3</sup> Old women carry messages for the lovers in *Bucciuolo*, in *Lucius and Camillus*, and in *Nerino*, but their part differs from Mrs. Quickly's and Pardalisca's. There is no such character in *The Two Lovers of Pisa*.

It is by no means improbable that Mrs. Quickly's story to Falstaff of the treatment accorded Mrs. Ford by her brutally jealous husband (IV, v, 112 ff.) is based upon Pardalisca's circumstantial story of Casina's insane fury.

Falstaff's misadventures in disguise as the witch of Brainford, as related by him to Mrs. Quickly (IV, v, 117 ff.), are based upon *Casina*, V, ii, iii, iv.<sup>1</sup> Here Olympio and Lysidamus respectively reveal how they have been pommeled by the supposed Casina.<sup>2</sup>

Falstaff's persistence in his pursuit of the merry wives, as shown in V, i, seems suggested by the infatuation of Lysidamus for Casina, as displayed, for instance, in *Casina*, III, vi, in which the old satyr takes tamely insult after insult from Olympio. Lysidamus dares not offend the bailiff because of the important part which is played by him in the plot against Casina. Also, III, v, of Plautus' comedy should be compared. There, Pardalisca's sensational story of Casina's wild insanity has no effect upon Lysidamus' determination to carry out his plans.

Scenes ii and iii of the fifth act of *The Merry Wives*, in which Page and his wife are shown each endeavoring to outwit the other by arranging that Slender and Caius, respectively, shall steal away Anne from the coming masquerade, would appear founded upon *Casina*, II, v, vi. Here Lysidamus and Cleustrata encourage Olympio and Chalinus to persist in their rivalry for Casina and finally resort to the lots to determine which shall have her. In both plays we have the same determination on the part of husband and wife to carry through their plans to a successful conclusion. And in both the cherished schemes are later wrecked—Cleustrata in *Casina* contriving the failure of Lysidamus' project, whereas Mrs. Page, though she succeeds in circumventing her husband, is tricked as well as he.

The culmination of the tricks upon Falstaff (*The Merry Wives*, V, v) owes much more to *Casina* than to *The Two Lovers of Pisa*. Here in Shakespeare's comedy the amorous old gull is finally exposed to the ridicule of nearly all the characters of the

<sup>1</sup> Falstaff's confidences to "Master Brook" (III, v) are derived from the novel.

<sup>2</sup> The scene as presented by Shakespeare (IV, ii) should be compared. There is no disguise of the sort in *The Two Lovers* or in any of the other novels.



play, while Caius and Slender are tricked too. The fifth act of *Casina* deals with the working out of Cleustrata's plot against her husband and his accomplice, Olympio. In V, i, of *Casina* the women of the play wait outside the house of Alcesimus, into which the bridal party has gone, just as the characters of *The Merry Wives* lie in ambush in Windsor Forest for Falstaff. Olympio enters in great haste in V, ii. On being examined, he tells how his supposed wife has beaten him. Next, Lysidamus enters (V, iii). After he has soliloquized over his treatment by "Casina," Chalinus in his disguise confronts his master (V, iv). The old man endeavors to deny any attempt upon "Casina," but he is unable to convince Cleustrata of his truthfulness. At last he throws himself on her mercy, professing his repentance for his past ill conduct.

These four Plautine scenes are the predominant source for the exposure of Falstaff's foolish credulity. Only a very faint suggestion for them is to be found in the Italian or English novels. In both *Casina* and *The Merry Wives* the intention of the principal female characters is the same—to humiliate an old lecher. They lie in wait while the process is in progress. It is shown on the English stage, but related on the Latin. After attempting to carry away the situation the tricked character—Lysidamus in one play, Falstaff in the other—owns himself vanquished and asks for mercy. The latter speaks of "the guiltiness" of his mind (l. 129), while Lysidamus in good set terms asks his wife's forgiveness. In the meantime, in both plays the other characters mock their dupes. The pinching which Falstaff undergoes from the fairies is perhaps suggested by the beating which Chalinus as *Casina* administers to Lysidamus, an incident which had already served as a source for Falstaff's misfortunes as the witch of Brainford.

The conclusion of the subplot of Anne Page and her lovers is founded upon this last act of *Casina*. In *The Merry Wives*, Caius steals away a fairy in green from the masquerade, believing "her" to be Anne. Slender elopes with a fairy in white. Each is following the directions given him by Mrs. Page and Page, respectively. But, after Falstaff has been sufficiently humiliated, Slender enters in discomfiture and announces that he has run away with a boy. Caius comes in to report indignantly that he has wed a boy whom,



according to Mrs. Page's directions, he had stolen away as Anne. Then Fenton and Anne enter and beg the forgiveness of the Pages. They have eloped and have been married.

Here then occurs in both plays the marriage of a man to another male who is disguised as a woman with whom he is in love. In *Casina* only one such marriage occurs, whereas there are two in *The Merry Wives*, but, in the former, Lysidamus is as much deceived by the false *Casina* as is Olympio. There is no mistreatment in Shakespeare's play of the gulled suitors, as in *Casina*, but that has evidently been allotted to Falstaff, whose "villainy" is punished by the fairies with their pinchings. Only a trace remains in Slender's boast (ll. 195-97): "Had it not been i' the church, I would have swing'd him, or he should have swing'd me."

The entrance of Fenton and Anne as married is based upon the statement of the Plautine epilogue that, being found a free woman and the daughter of Alcesimus, *Casina* will be married to Euthynicus. We see, therefore, in both plays, that the true lovers in whose way parental disapproval has stood (and in Plautus an insurmountable social barrier) are at last united with the blessing of the same parents who had before opposed the match.

Thus we see that fourteen, if not fifteen, of the twenty-two scenes of *The Merry Wives* present in sometimes several places and ways more or less striking resemblances to sixteen of the twenty-three scenes of *Casina*. The Shakespearian scenes which appear based upon the Latin play are: I, i;<sup>1</sup> I, iii; I, iv; II, i; II, iii; III, i; III, ii; III, iii; III, iv; III, v; IV, v; V, i; V, ii; V, iii; V, v.

### VIII

Finally, perhaps should be considered briefly the question of Shakespeare's knowledge of Latin; for there is no evidence of an Elizabeth translation of *Casina*. However, this matter need not delay one long. Arguments pro and con have been made for over two centuries, yet no definite conclusion has been generally reached. To the writer it seems probable that Shakespeare read Latin with fair proficiency. This appears evident to him from the fact alone

<sup>1</sup> See p. 411, n. 2, above.

that the dramatist drew upon Plautus' *Menaechmi*, *Amphitruo*, *Mostellaria*, and *Miles Gloriosus*. Sir Sidney Lee in his *Life*<sup>1</sup> says: "Aubrey's report that 'he knew Latin pretty well' is incontestable. The original speech of Ovid and Seneca lay well within his grasp." Later Sir Sidney says of Shakespeare and Plautus:<sup>2</sup> "He had read the old dramatist at school." Evidence in support of Shakespeare's Latinity has also been given by Professor J. Churton Collins<sup>3</sup> and others.

But it should moreover be remembered that possibly Shakespeare had access to manuscript translations of Plautine plays (as some critics say that he utilized for the *Comedy of Errors* an unprinted form of W. W.'s English version of *Menaechmi*) or an obliging friend read certain of the comedies to him in English, or perhaps only outlined them to him. In truth, the important fact is that Shakespeare knew the plays of Plautus in some form or other. Whether this form was in the Latin or not is of secondary importance.<sup>4</sup>

## IX

From the foregoing discussion the writer feels justified in concluding that one of the sources of *The Merry Wives of Windsor* is the *Casina* of Plautus. This conclusion he bases chiefly upon the resemblances of the two plays in plot and characters, although there are few places where verbal borrowing or translation seems discernible. It is true that there are many deviations from the story of *Casina*; the impartial and judicial reader must recognize, however, that those which are made from the plot of *The Two Lovers of Pisa* and from that of *Philenio* are as great. Furthermore, a comparison of any Shakespearian play with its source will reveal a similar alteration of the original. Here, too, in *The Merry Wives* is a situation which lent itself peculiarly to free adaptation: the problem of combining three different stories—one, that of a play, the two

<sup>1</sup> P. 22.

<sup>2</sup> P. 109.

<sup>3</sup> "Shakespeare as a Classical Scholar" in *Studies in Shakespeare*, pp. 1-95.

<sup>4</sup> Professor Irving Babbitt says in his *Literature and the American College*, p. 204, note: "The atmosphere in which Shakespeare wrote was so saturated with Greek and Latin influence as to make his direct acquaintance with the classics a secondary question."

others from novels—into a unified drama. With the same freedom displayed in his combination and adaptation of *The Taming of a Shrew* and *Supposes* as *The Taming of the Shrew*, Shakespeare altered the plots from *Tarleton's News*, from *The Palace of Pleasure*, and from Plautus, and wove them into a well-knit play—*The Merry Wives of Windsor*.

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NOTE.—Until the foregoing article was in type in April, 1920, the writer had not seen Miss Cornelia C. Coulter's paper, "The Plautine Tradition in Shakespeare," published in *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, for January, 1920 (Vol. XIX, pp. 66-83). "A Plautine Source of *The Merry Wives of Windsor*" was completed and submitted to *Modern Philology* in August, 1919. The present writer's conclusions are, therefore, independent of those of Miss Coulter. They differ, too, considerably from hers, for he finds much more than a "faint" reminiscence of *Casina* in *The Merry Wives* ("The Plautine Tradition," p. 75), and he does not derive Falstaff from the Plautine *miles gloriosus* (pp. 80, 83).

R. S. F.



## THE ABBÉ LE BLANC AND ENGLISH LITERATURE

In the seventeenth century, says Joseph Texte of the French, "nous étions dans l'heureuse persuasion que tout ce qui n'était pas français mangeait du foin et marchait à quatre pattes."<sup>1</sup> The eighteenth century changed that. The current, which in the first quarter of the century had been setting more and more toward England, began in the second quarter to gather more strength for its onward sweep. Not only the Augustans, Addison, Pope, and Swift, were beginning to be known, but even the "barbarian" Shakespeare was awakening curiosity and calling forth a strange mingling of timid admiration and violent abuse. Boyer's early notice of the poet in 1700,<sup>2</sup> the "Shakees Pear" of the *Journal des savants*,<sup>3</sup> the "Chacsper" of the 1715 translation of Collier's *Short View*,<sup>4</sup> the "Dissertation sur la poésie angloise" in the *Journal littéraire de la Haye*<sup>5</sup>—all these had prepared the way and then had sunk into comparative oblivion at the appearance of men of greater talents whose interests also turned in the same direction.

The Swiss Protestant, Bêat-Louis de Muralt, had been in England as long ago as 1694 and had made good use of his time, but his famous *Lettres sur les Anglois et sur les François*, which Voltaire did not disdain and which Rousseau used and esteemed,<sup>6</sup> were slow in appearing. Not until 1725 were they published but, as early as 1727, a second edition became necessary.<sup>7</sup> Muralt apologized for treating such a *bagatelle* as literature and relegated it to a place of secondary importance. Moreover, he preferred Ben Jonson to "Schakspear."<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Joseph Texte, *J. J. Rousseau et les origines du cosmopolitisme littéraire* (Paris, 1895), p. 16.

<sup>2</sup> J. J. Jusserand, *Shakespeare en France sous l'ancien régime* (Paris, 1898), pp. 141-42.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 147.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 140.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 148-49.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. my article, "The Sources of Rousseau's *Edouard Bomston*," *Modern Philology*, XVII, 134-37.

<sup>7</sup> Muralt, *Lettres sur les Anglois*, 2d ed., Cologne, 1727. Cf., for notice of other rapidly succeeding editions and reprints, Otto von Greyerz, *Introd. to Muralt's Lettres* (Bern, 1897), pp. xviii-xix.

<sup>8</sup> Muralt, *Lettres*, Cologne, 1727, p. 34.

The attitude of Voltaire as expressed in the *Lettres philosophiques* of 1734 is perhaps too widely stressed. It should be balanced by the more favorable view presented by two works which antedate the *Philosophical Letters*, namely, the *Discours sur la tragédie* prefixed to *Brutus* and published in 1731, and the French version of the *Essai sur la poésie épique* of 1733. In the Preface to *Brutus* for instance, we find Voltaire exclaiming:

Au milieu de tant de fautes grossières, avec quel ravissement je voyais Brutus, tenant encore un poignard teint du sang de César, assembler le peuple romain, et lui parler ainsi du haut de la tribune aux harangues!

In closing, Voltaire writes:

Peut-être les Français ne souffriraient pas que l'on fit paraître sur leurs théâtres un chœur composé d'artisans et de plébéiens romains; que le corps sanglant de César y fût exposé aux yeux du peuple, et qu'on excitât ce peuple à la vengeance du haut de la tribune aux harangues; c'est à la coutume, qui est la reine de ce monde, à changer le goût des nations, et à tourner en plaisir les objets de notre aversion.<sup>1</sup>

Here, even taking into account the fact that Voltaire is preparing the public for his own innovations, we have what is really a quite fair and broad-minded attitude. He is sincere in his admiration. His desire to imitate English drama proves that. In the *Discours sur la tragédie* likewise, after admitting that Shakespeare is in part "monstrueux" and "absurde," Voltaire says he must admit that the English are right in admiring him.

Il est impossible que toute une nation se trompe en fait de sentiment, et ait tort d'avoir du plaisir. Ils voyaient comme moi les fautes grossières de leur auteur favori; mais ils sentaient mieux que moi ses beautés, d'autant plus singulières que ce sont des éclairs qui ont brillé dans la nuit la plus profonde.

Then follow these words, which are the high-water mark of Voltaire's appreciation of Shakespeare:

Tel est le privilège du génie d'invention: il se fait une route où personne n'a marché avant lui; il court sans guide, sans art, sans règle; il s'égare dans sa carrière, mais il laisse loin derrière lui tout ce qui n'est que raison et qu'exactitude.<sup>2</sup>

The passage speaks for itself and needs no further comment.

<sup>1</sup> *Œuvres de Voltaire*, II (Paris, 1883), 316-18.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, VIII, 317-18.

In 1738 Louis Riccoboni, the famous *Lelio* of the *Comédie Italienne*, who had been in England about ten years before at the same time as Voltaire, published his *Réflexions historiques et critiques sur les différens théâtres de l'Europe*, in which, while hesitant and timid, the author nevertheless risks the bold observation that "les beautés des tragédies angloises sont au-dessus de toutes les beautés que les théâtres de l'Europe peuvent nous montrer."<sup>1</sup>

The Abbé Prévost too, indefatigable novelist that he was, found time and inclination to spread the vogue of English literature. His first appreciations appeared in Volume V of the *Mémoires d'un homme de qualité* in 1731, the year of Voltaire's Preface to *Brutus*. This success was followed within a few years by other novels, *Cléland*, whose hero is an Englishman, the *Doyen de Killerine*, whose chief character is an Irish priest, and the *Mémoires de M. de Montcal*, the scene of which is laid in England and Ireland. At the same time appeared the twenty volumes of Prévost's periodical publication, *Le Pour et Contre*,<sup>2</sup> which made a specialty of English literature. In 1742 Prévost took France by storm with his translation of Richardson's *Pamela*. It is necessary to correct the widely held opinion that Prévost was far in advance of his time and distinguished especially for his enlightened appreciation of Shakespeare. Fair minded and moderate he was and he did much to further the cause of English literature in France, but he must not be thought of as a wildly enthusiastic champion of Shakespearean drama.<sup>3</sup> Prévost has had his legend, picturesque, alluring, a piquant contrast to Voltaire, but untrue.

So, with the way thus clearly pointed out, it is not strange that a young man of thirty, eager for a literary career, should in this day turn his steps toward England. In fact, the Abbé Le Blanc bore with him a commission, so to speak, from no less a person than La Chaussée, who wrote him under date of May 1, 1737:

Je ne doute point qu'il n'y ait à profiter sur le Parnasse anglois et je m'en rapporte bien à vous pour ramasser les fleurs qui sont à votre usage et

<sup>1</sup> Riccoboni, *Réflexions*, etc. (Amsterdam, 1740), pp. 138-39.

<sup>2</sup> Published by Didot (Paris, 1733-40).

<sup>3</sup> For a more detailed study of this question, cf. my article, "The Abbé Prévost and Shakespeare," *Modern Philology*, XVII, 177-98.



qui peuvent être transplantées ici. On compte sur vous l'hiver prochain. ... Je vais me mettre à l'anglois et je ferai venir les pièces qu'il faut voir quand on veut se donner une idée du théâtre comique anglois.<sup>1</sup>

Whatever La Chaussée may have done with his English,<sup>2</sup> Le Blanc did not fail to make use of his. In 1737 he began to write to friends of some prominence in France letters on England and the English and continued to do so until 1744. In 1745, under the title of *Lettres d'un François*, the collection was published without chronological arrangement<sup>3</sup> in three of those small russet volumes that the eighteenth century loved so well.

The Abbé Le Blanc (Jean Bernard) was born in 1707 and died in 1781. Maupertuis offered him a position at the court of Prussia, but Le Blanc refused it. Through Mme de Pompadour, he obtained the sinecure of "historiographe des batiments du roi," which he kept throughout his life. The author of some verse and of a tragedy, *Aben-Saïd*, which was twelve times played at the Comédie Française, the Abbé Le Blanc chose no ill means of augmenting his fame when he decided to pass seven years in England. In fact, his *Lettres* were read with avidity and brought their author into prominence.

Le Blanc's impression of English character is not essentially different from that given by his predecessors and already becoming traditional.<sup>4</sup> According to the French writer, the English pride themselves on being reasonable and on thinking deeply,<sup>5</sup> they are frank,<sup>6</sup> distinguished for their good sense,<sup>7</sup> impatient of restraint and tenacious in their purposes,<sup>8</sup> eccentric,<sup>9</sup> violent and extreme in

<sup>1</sup> *Revue d'Histoire littéraire de la France* (1919), pp. 98-99.

<sup>2</sup> M. Jussérand (*op. cit.*, p. 192) thinks that La Chaussée was strongly influenced by English literature. M. Lanson favors the opposite opinion that such influence, if it existed at all, was slight (*Nivelle de La Chaussée et la comédie larmoyante*, pp. 130-31).

<sup>3</sup> The *Lettres d'un François* were published by Jean Neaulme at The Hague in 1745 with this introductory note by the editor: "Ces *Lettres* ont été écrites d'Angleterre depuis l'année 1737 jusques vers la fin de l'année dernière 1744. L'auteur qui connoit tout le mérite et de celles que M. de Muralt, et de celles que l'un des plus grands écrivains de notre siècle ont publiées sur les mœurs et le gouvernement des Anglois, ne pensoit point alors à rendre les siennes publiques; ainsi il n'en a point retenu les dates sur des copies qu'il n'avoit gardées que pour son usage particulier: cela est cause qu'on n'a pu les imprimer suivant le tems où elles ont été écrites, et qu'il y en a au III. volume qui devoient être au I."

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Modern Philology*, XVII, 131-37, for the views of Muralt, Prévost, and Rousseau.

<sup>5</sup> Le Blanc, *Lettres d'un François*, I, 2, 92; II, 342; III, 297.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 197.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 181.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 59.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 84-85, 144; III, 294.

everything,<sup>1</sup> intemperate,<sup>2</sup> of brusque and unpleasing manners,<sup>3</sup> afflicted with "spleen,"<sup>4</sup> of gloomy and harsh exterior,<sup>5</sup> filled with national pride,<sup>6</sup> but withal honorable,<sup>7</sup> kindly, and possessed of very lovable, human qualities,<sup>8</sup> when once they are known and understood. One should, however, be careful not to form too favorable and exaggerated an opinion of them.

Ce sont des hommes comme les autres, qui connoissent la raison et ne la suivent pas toujours.<sup>9</sup>

Ne croyez pas cependant les Anglois plus sages que nous; leurs ridicules sont différens, mais les hommes sont partout les mêmes.<sup>10</sup>

Bien des gens ont peut-être parmi nous une opinion trop favorable des Anglois; ils ne connoissent la nation que par ce qu'elle a de plus poli. ... Des hommes tels que Mylord Boolinbroke, ou Mylord Chesterfield sont rares, non-seulement dans leurs pays, mais dans leur siècle même.<sup>11</sup>

Moreover, Le Blanc admits frankly the danger of attempting to generalize about a whole nation.

Ces jugemens que l'on porte de toute une nation sont rarement justes et presque toujours téméraires. D'ailleurs il n'est peut-être point de peuple dans l'Europe dont il soit plus difficile de donner une idée générale que de celui parmi lequel je vis aujourd'hui; les Anglois sont aussi différens entre eux que leur nation est elle-même différente des autres.<sup>12</sup>

Finally, he protects himself, or perhaps defends himself, against criticism by this fair, tactful, but cautious statement:

Comme il est de l'homme de se tromper, et de l'honnête homme de reconnoître son erreur, j'avoue de bonne foi que je crains de n'avoir pas connu tout le mérite des Anglois, lorsque j'ai vécu parmi eux. Je puis avoir été choqué de ce qui n'est que l'opposé de nos défauts. Ce qui m'a paru contraire aux bienséances, ne l'est peut-être qu'à nos usages.<sup>13</sup>

As to the vogue of the English language in France, the following passage offers interesting testimony:

Nous avons mis depuis peu leur langue au rang des langues sçavantes; les femmes même l'apprennent, et ont renoncé à l'italien pour étudier celle de ce peuple philosophe. Il n'en est point dans la province d'Armande et de Bélise qui ne veuille sçavoir l'anglois.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 32, 215.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 51.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 298.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 237, 251; III, 16.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 47, 173, 323; II, 69.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 10, 12, 93-94.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 294.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 15; II, 263; III, 294.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 15.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 21.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 64-65.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 19.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 379-80.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 334.

English is a harsher language than French, thinks Le Blanc, but in spite of that fact it is a better poetic medium.<sup>1</sup> "Le françois paroît être la langue de la raison, l'anglois celle de l'enthousiasme."<sup>2</sup> It is especially adapted to rendering expression to the emotions, love, friendship, grief, and despair.<sup>3</sup> The English rarely seek anything but force of expression; most of them do not even admit "la distinction des expressions nobles ou basses."<sup>4</sup> In time doubtless their language will acquire more polish and, like French, lose much of its force while at the same time gaining in beauty.<sup>5</sup> It goes without saying that, in Le Blanc's opinion, the English lack taste.<sup>6</sup> Nevertheless, their example can be of use to the French.

Anglois, Italien, François, qu'importe qui nous éclaire, pourvu qu'on nous conduise au sanctuaire de la vérité.<sup>7</sup>

Les François ne sont si remplis de préjugés que parce que ne sortant pas de chez eux, ils ne connoissent pas tout ce qu'ont d'excellent les nations qui nous environnent.<sup>8</sup>

English literature held an important place among the topics treated by Le Blanc's pen. The Augustans of course attract his attention. "M. Pope" is, as one would expect, "le Despréaux d'Angleterre."<sup>9</sup> It is the comparison already consecrated by Le Blanc's predecessors. Pope is the authority "à qui je m'en rapporte pour tout ce qui regarde les vers anglois."<sup>10</sup> "Les deux Essais de M. Pope que M. l'abbé Du Resnel a mis si heureusement en vers françois ont reçu les applaudissemens qu'ils méritent."<sup>11</sup> Pope is cited several times<sup>12</sup> and once is criticized unfavorably,<sup>13</sup> but nothing of special interest is brought forward. Addison is generally treated with much more respect and is quoted more frequently than Pope.<sup>14</sup> He is "l'auteur anglois qui a le mieux peint les mœurs de sa nation,"<sup>15</sup> though in another place Le Blanc says that "il a flatté sa nation

<sup>1</sup> Le Blanc, I, 305.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 306.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 118.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 246. Cf. I, 317-18; II, 203, 216.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 249.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 50.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 159.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 162.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 109, 113, 166, 174; II, 113, 153, 315; III, 75.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 68.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 323-24.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 108.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 72.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 56.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 337.

dans les portraits qu'il en a faits."<sup>1</sup> His *Cato* is "une des tragédies qui fait le plus d'honneur au théâtre anglois."<sup>2</sup> Evidently Le Blanc, like most of his contemporaries, prefers drama that is classical in form. As an example of Steele's work, Le Blanc recommends to his friend, La Chaussée, *The Conscious Lovers*, "une des meilleures comédies du théâtre anglois,"<sup>3</sup> translates Act IV, scene 1, and praises the attack on duelling. Since, however, Prévost had already translated the whole play in *Le Pour et Contre*,<sup>4</sup> Le Blanc's originality is of the slightest. Swift of course—the phrase had been made current by Voltaire—is an English Rabelais.<sup>5</sup> He is cited a propos of the supposed bad taste of English poets,<sup>6</sup> and it is noted that the French have welcomed "tout ce qu'on nous a traduit des ouvrages du docteur Swift,"<sup>7</sup> but Le Blanc, like Prévost<sup>8</sup> before him, shudders at the bitterly satirical proposal for using the children of the poor people of Ireland as food for the rich.

On sent bien que c'est une satire violente contre le gouvernement d'Angleterre qui tient l'Irlande dans l'oppression. Mais on manque quelquefois le but faute d'adresse. L'auteur a voulu faire rire et il révolte. Une satire qu'on eût pu relire avec plaisir eût sûrement fait plus d'effet qu'un écrit que le dégoût fait tomber des mains.<sup>9</sup>

Shaftesbury, Le Blanc considers "un de leurs plus judicieux critiques,"<sup>10</sup> and his strictures against the English stage as often "une scène de carnage"<sup>11</sup> are cited from the *Advice to an Author*. Shaftesbury, like Congreve, Addison, Swift, and Pope, has distinguished himself above most English authors because of his study of "nos bons auteurs du dernier siècle" and of "les grands modèles de l'antiquité."<sup>12</sup> Gay's *Beggars' Opera* arouses Le Blanc's ire. Its characters are "brigands et coupe-jarrets," but it has long entertained the London populace and, Le Blanc notes with regret, continues to do so.<sup>13</sup> Richardson's *Pamela* has held the Abbé's interest

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 14.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 131. Cf. Voltaire, *Œuvres*, II, 322.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 122.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 110-11.

<sup>5</sup> *Le Pour et Contre*, VIII, 109-321.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 72.

<sup>7</sup> Le Blanc, I, 115.

<sup>8</sup> *Le Pour et Contre*, I, 298.

<sup>9</sup> Le Blanc, I, 283, note. A translation follows, pp. 284-301.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 119.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 187, note. Cf. III, 167-68, note b.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 26.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 209. Cf. III, 184, note a and III, 231, note.

powerfully "malgré les longueurs et un fonds de mœurs basses qui peuvent révolter la plupart des lecteurs."<sup>1</sup>

So much for the contemporary, or nearly contemporary, period. Some Restoration writers were also treated by Le Blanc.

Dryden is "un des poètes anglois qui a eu le plus d'esprit."<sup>2</sup> He is praised for his translation of Virgil.<sup>3</sup> *All for Love* is spoken of favorably in one passage and unfavorably in another.

C'est de tous les ouvrages dramatiques de ce poète, celui où il a mis le plus d'art et c'est une des meilleures tragédies du théâtre anglois; elle est traduite dans le *Pour et Contre* de M. l'abbé Prévost.<sup>4</sup>

But a little later the French author writes:

Antoine plongé dans la mollesse perd l'empire de l'univers: c'est ce que M. Dryden appelle le *Monde bien Perdu*. Racine mérite d'être critiqué pour avoir mis sur la scène des héros trop efféminés, mais ce n'étoit pas au poète anglois à lui en faire un reproche.<sup>5</sup>

Evidently the first passage is Le Blanc's real estimate of the play as a whole, while the latter is but the reaction of his national pride against Dryden's criticism of Racine. "Otwai" and Southerne, "deux des plus grands tragiques du théâtre anglois,"<sup>6</sup> are both criticized for the mingling of tragic and comic elements.

*La Venise préservée* d'Otway, une des pièces les plus tragiques du théâtre anglois, est coupée à chaque scène par une intrigue du comique le plus bas et le plus trivial. *Oroonoko* et le *Fatal Mariage* de Southern ont le même défaut, ou plutôt c'est celui de beaucoup de tragédies angloises, où il y a d'ailleurs de grandes beautés.<sup>7</sup>

Le Blanc translates for Bouhier Act III, scene 2, of Rowe's *Tamerlane* and comments: Cette scène est traitée avec art et écrite avec beaucoup de force."<sup>8</sup> Congreve's borrowings from Molière are noted,<sup>9</sup> but he is called "le comique le plus sage et le premier de tous."<sup>10</sup> The *Way of the World* is praised as his masterpiece<sup>11</sup> and as best

<sup>1</sup> Le Blanc, I, 280.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 324.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 307.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 151-52, note m.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 173, note b.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 163, note b.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 143-44, note x.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 198-201.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 129-30.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 182, note a.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 313-14, note.

portraying his age. Nevertheless, Restoration writers in general receive Le Blanc's condemnation.

Les écrivains de ce tems-là ... ne furent exacts ni sur la morale, ni sur le style. D'un côté ils secouèrent le joug de toute bienséance; de l'autre ils sacrifièrent le jugement à l'esprit, c'est-à-dire, au mauvais goût; car l'esprit affecté ou déplacé est réellement un défaut."<sup>1</sup>

Of the poets of the period:

Cowley pétille d'esprit, le Comte de Rochester ne respecte pas même la pudeur, Waller le sage, Waller est peut-être le seul qui se soit préservé de l'une et l'autre contagion.<sup>2</sup>

Vous me demandez quel étoit ce Waller dont S. Evremond parle avec tant d'éloge. C'est un des auteurs à qui la poésie angloise a le plus d'obligation. C'est le premier de ceux de cette nation qui ait consulté l'harmonie dans l'arrangement des mots [yet Shakespeare had already written!] et suivi le goût dans le choix des idées. Il a autant de galanterie et plus de naturel que Voiture, autant de feu et plus de correction que Chaulieu. C'est de l'avis de ceux qui s'y connoissent, le poète le plus aimable et le plus châtié que les Anglois ayent eu.<sup>3</sup>

As an example of Waller's work, Le Blanc gives an adaptation of the fable of Apollo and Daphne written for the Countess of Sunderland.<sup>4</sup> Pryor is barely mentioned,<sup>5</sup> but Milton rightly receives more consideration than others of his period.

Avec un peu plus de sagesse et de goût, Milton eût fait un chef-d'œuvre de son *Paradis perdu*.<sup>6</sup>

On doit combler d'éloges l'heureux enthousiasme qui a produit un poème tel que le *Paradis perdu*; mais peut-on ne pas condamner en même tems celui d'un lecteur qui se passionnera pour cet ouvrage au point de n'en pas voir les défauts.<sup>7</sup>

Le Blanc observes that it was Addison who raised Milton's work from the neglect into which it had fallen in consequence of his attachment to Cromwell's cause.<sup>8</sup> The following passage is significant from the point of view of awakening interest in nature. It stresses the subjective attitude and points toward romanticism.

Milton peint non-seulement la fraîcheur du matin et la beauté de l'émail d'une prairie, ou du verd d'une colline, il exprime jusqu'aux sentimens de joye et de plaisir que ces objets excitent dans notre âme.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 106.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 106-7.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 82.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 83-84.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 11.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 318.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 250.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 109.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 207.

J'aimerois assez vous entretenir de la poésie des anglois; mais Milton dont un de vos confrères nous a donné une si belle traduction, vous en fait mieux connoître le génie que tout ce que je pourrais vous en dire.<sup>1</sup>

Finally, Milton receives this high praise:

L'Angleterre a eu plusieurs poètes célèbres. Il en est peu dans aucune nation qu'on puisse comparer à Milton.<sup>2</sup>

Concerning all the authors so far treated, Le Blanc says much that is judicious and fair, but he discusses none of them in much detail and throughout we feel that the Frenchman has expressed no new and stimulating ideas for the consideration of his countrymen. He cannot in this respect measure up to what had already been done by Muralt, Voltaire, and even Prévost.

One distinction, however, he has, and, either for a Frenchman or for an Englishman of the period, it is no slight one. He has read Chaucer.

L'anglois d'il y a trois ou quatre cens ans étoit encore plus mélangé du françois qu'il ne l'est aujourd'hui. Je ne sçai même si la connoissance de l'anglois de ces tems-là ne seroit pas très utile à ceux qui veulent entendre notre vieux françois. La lecture de Chaucer m'a rendu celle de nos anciens poètes plus facile.<sup>3</sup>

How much knowledge of Chaucer, Le Blanc may have acquired is problematical, but at any rate it is most interesting to learn that he got even so far as to read him at all.

As we come now to the Elizabethan age, it is of interest to note the pre-eminence Le Blanc accords to it, especially in view of the comparative barrenness of his treatment of other English authors.

C'est sous le règne d'Elizabeth qu'elle [la langue anglaise] en a été le plus près [de la perfection]. Cette langue fut alors enrichie par la traduction de la Bible, de beaucoup de mots et de tours orientaux. Sir Walter Raleigh, un des ministres de cette grande reine, qui elle-même possédoit plusieurs langues, le célèbre Spencer et Fairfax, sont encore comptés au rang des meilleurs écrivains de leur nation.<sup>4</sup>

It is significant that Le Blanc, through Swift, has been led to notice the great part played by the King James Bible in the formation of English style. Voltaire, however, had already called attention to the same fact.

<sup>1</sup> Le Blanc, I, 155.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 204.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 104-5.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 105-6.



It remains to treat the most important and interesting part of Le Blanc's literary criticism, that which deals with Shakespeare.

Shakespeare, says Le Blanc, is "le plus original" of all authors ancient or modern, and far superior to his rival, Ben Jonson, who, in Dryden's phrase, is merely "un sçavant plagiaire des anciens." "Il a l'imagination aussi riche que forte; il peint tout ce qu'il voit, et il embellit tout ce qu'il peint." An example of this is the description of Cleopatra's appearance before Antony. But, alas! though Shakespeare rises to the sublime, he sinks also to the lowest depths. "Ceux de nos François qui en ont parlé, l'ont loué et ne l'ont pas jugé."<sup>1</sup> A scene from the first part of *Henry VI* is praised as worthy of the "grand Corneille," and likewise a selection from the second part of *Henry VI*, a translation of which is given, but the comic scenes are severely censured.<sup>2</sup> Shakespeare is the enemy of all constraint. He wrote his plays, now in prose, now in verse, now with rhyme, now without. His plays contain great beauties, but great faults also.<sup>3</sup> His successors have copied his faults, but have lacked his genius.<sup>4</sup> Nevertheless, he is the poet "qui a le mieux peint et la nature, et les effets des passions et les défauts attachés à l'humanité en général et ceux qui sont particuliers à sa nation."<sup>5</sup> He is the foremost dramatic author of England, a truly great poet, but no translations in French would do other than harm to his reputation.<sup>6</sup> In his finest passages he is not inferior to any other author ancient or modern, but unfortunately directly after his best scenes we must expect to find one of the most ridiculous examples of low comedy. The English excuse this, but the French will not be so indulgent. The admiration of the English for Shakespeare is excessive. We, the

<sup>1</sup> Yet already, Voltaire had spoken, Prévost too, and Riccoboni, and none of these had failed to point out "faults." D'Argens in 1738 had written of the "état [de barbarie] du théâtre anglois." "Je n'ai jamais vu tant de génie et si peu de bons ouvrages," and Shakespeare is included in this condemnation (*Lettres juives*, IV, 237).

<sup>2</sup> Le Blanc, III, 49-63.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Charles Gildon, *Remarks on the Plays of Shakespeare* (Rowe's ed. of Shakespeare, 1709-10), VII, 425.

<sup>4</sup> Le Blanc, I, 309-10. Cf. Voltaire, *Œuvres*, II, 318.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 182.

<sup>6</sup> In spite of the great degree of truth contained in this remark as far as translations in French are concerned, it is of some piquancy in view of the fact that La Place's translation appeared in 1745, the same year as Le Blanc's *Lettres*, which thus condemned translations of Shakespeare as of little use after all.

French, would object to seeing the power and sublimity of Corneille mingled with low and trivial comedy, puns, and plays upon words.

Le Blanc translates the speeches of Brutus and of Antony after the death of Caesar, and then comments:

Cette scène, où sont ces deux chefs-d'œuvre, finit par le comique le plus bas et le plus ridicule. Antoine n'a pas plutôt inspiré au peuple l'ardeur de venger la mort de César, qu'on voit paroltre un nouveau personnage. Le peuple l'entoure avec empressement, lui demande quel est son nom, d'où il vient et où il va, s'il est garçon ou marié, etc. Il répond qu'il s'appelle Cinna, et aussitôt le peuple s'écrie: "C'est un des conspirateurs, mettons-le en pièces: non, messieurs, dit le pauvre misérable, tout effrayé, je suis Cinna le poète.—N'importe, reprend la populace, déchirons-le pour ses mauvais vers.—Voilà comme finit d'ordinaire tout le tragique de Shakespeare, voilà comme toutes ses pièces sont bigarrées de scènes pathétiques et de scènes bouffonnes."<sup>1</sup>

As for the conference between Brutus, Cassius, Octavius, and Antony, "à la grossièreté des injures qu'ils se disent les uns aux autres dans cette entrevue, on ne peut pas les prendre pour des Romains." Prévost's attitude toward a similar criticism is more enlightened.<sup>2</sup> Shakespeare is not afraid, notes Le Blanc, to bring Caesar on the stage "en bonnet de nuit" (probably nightgown). "Vous sentez par là combien il doit le dégrader." As to Falstaff, he is but a crude buffoon.

A l'égard du style, c'est la partie qui distingue le plus Shakespeare des autres poètes de sa nation, c'est celui où il excelle. Il peint tout ce qu'il exprime. Il anime tout ce qu'il dit. Il parle pour ainsi dire une langue qui lui est propre, et c'est ce qui le rend si difficile à traduire. Il faut pourtant avouer aussi, que si quelquefois ses expressions sont sublimes, souvent il donne dans le gigantesque. Ainsi, dans cette pièce de *Jules-César*, Portia, femme de Brutus, se plaint à lui de ce qu'il a des secrets pour elle, et lui demande si elle ne demeure plus que dans les faubourgs de son bon plaisir? Croiroit-on que cette phrase ridicule pût être de l'auteur de la harangue que vous venez de lire? D'un autre côté, je ne puis passer sous silence un trait de cette tragédie, qui marque, ce me semble, autant de finesse d'esprit que le

<sup>1</sup> Evidently Le Blanc catches no glimpse of the value of such a scene in portraying the fickle violence of a mob.

<sup>2</sup> *Pour et Contre*, V, 40-41. Of the quarrel between Octavia and Cleopatra, Prévost observes: "Si l'une étoit Romaine et l'autre Reine d'Egypte, elles ne laisseroient pas toutes deux d'être femmes." Le Blanc, unlike Prévost, thought that a Roman was a super-human being.

discours de Brutus suppose d'élévation. Décius dit, en parlant de César: "Il se plaît à entendre dire, qu'on surprend des lions avec des filets et les hommes avec des flatteries, etc., mais quand je lui dis qu'il hait les flatteurs, il m'approuve et ne s'aperçoit pas que c'est en cela que je le flatte le plus."

However, when all is said, Shakespeare will never be known by those who do not read English. He cannot be translated and still remain Shakespeare.<sup>1</sup>

Le Blanc, even though he found certain details to criticize, deserves special mention for noting Shakespeare's pre-eminence in the matter of style. M. Jusserand has already called attention to the fact.<sup>2</sup> It is worth noting too that Texte, while he considered the influence of Shakespeare to have been slight in France so far as the development of historical drama and the breaking up of classical tragedy are concerned, attributed great influence to Shakespeare's style.<sup>3</sup> This renders the Abbé's observations the more significant.

Le Blanc thinks the English need the bit more than they need the spur. They regard all rules as arbitrary, unwilling to recognize that these rules are but copied

d'après la nature et qu'elles ne sont autre chose que les moyens les plus sûres pour y arriver. Leur fameux Shakespeare est un exemple frappant du danger que l'on court à s'en écarter. Ce poète, un des plus grands génies qui aient peut-être jamais existé, pour avoir ignoré les règles des anciens ou pour n'avoir pas voulu les suivre, n'a pas produit un seul ouvrage qui ne soit un monstre dans son espèce; s'il y a dans tous des endroits admirables, il n'y en a pas un dont on puisse soutenir la lecture d'un bout à l'autre,<sup>4</sup>

all of which is extreme enough to satisfy the most rabid adversary of Shakespeare.

To Crébillon, Le Blanc writes as follows:

Dans vos ouvrages la terreur naît plus de la force des sentimens et de l'énergie des expressions que de l'horreur du spectacle. ... Il n'en est pas ainsi de Shakespeare; quoique personne n'ait donné plus de force que lui à ses expressions, la terreur qu'il inspire est due principalement aux spectacles affreux qu'il expose sous les yeux. Dans sa tragédie du *Maure de Venise* on voit Othello étouffer sa femme dans son lit.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Le Blanc, II, 73-81.

<sup>2</sup> J. J. Jusserand, *op. cit.*, p. 177.

<sup>3</sup> Petit de Julleville, *Histoire de la littérature française*, VII, 721-22.

<sup>4</sup> Le Blanc, I, 313-14.

<sup>5</sup> Thomas Rymer in 1693 had summarized his views on *Othello* as follows: "Whatever rubs or difficulty may stick on the Bark, the moral, sure, of this Fable is very instructive. First, This may be a caution to all Maidens of Quality how, without their Parents'

Le Blanc then gives the plot of *Titus Andronicus*, and concludes:

Je finis, monsieur; car je m'imagine que vous n'êtes pas moins las que moi de tant d'horreurs. Quelque méchants que soient les hommes, je doute qu'il y en ait d'aussi abominables que le Maure sanguinaire et la cruelle Tamora. Corneille a fait, dit-on, les hommes plus vertueux et plus grands qu'ils ne sont. On a reproché à Euripide de les avoir fait trop méchants; mais Shakespeare les a faits plus scélérats peut-être que la nature humaine ne la comporte.<sup>1</sup> ... Sans les détails de quelques morceaux pathétiques, on la prendrait plutôt pour le délire d'une imagination déréglée que pour l'ouvrage d'un grand poète.<sup>2</sup>

Le Blanc's attitude toward *Othello* is entirely conventional for a Frenchman of the time. Especially interesting is the attempt of Le Blanc to shock the great "shocker," Crébillon. We are likely now to forget that Shakespeare ever had any part in the writing of so sanguinary a play as *Titus Andronicus*, but it is not at all strange that Le Blanc should have come upon it and been repelled. He does, however, frankly admit that it is an extreme example, that it is no longer played, and that some in fact do not consider it Shakespeare's work at all.

In another passage addressed to Crébillon, we find Le Blanc interested in the sources of *Hamlet*, *Cymbeline*, *Romeo and Juliet*, and *Othello*. He summarizes the plot of *Hamlet*, and refers incidentally to the "belle édition des Œuvres de Shakespeare" by Pope. Then follows this interesting comment on the ghosts of Shakespeare's plays:

Les spectateurs ont assez de peine à se défendre de la terreur que les scènes de cette espèce inspirent dans Shakespeare. Il donne à ses expressions une force qui étonne toujours.<sup>3</sup> Il anime les phantomes qu'il fait paraître. ... Les objets du monde les plus ridicules, trois sorcières et leur chaudron jouent un très grand rôle dans sa tragédie de *Macbeth*.<sup>4</sup>

consent, they run away with Blackamoors. Secondly, This may be a warning to all good Wives that they look well to their Linnen. Thirdly, This may be a lesson to Husbands that before their Jealousie be Tragical, the proofs may be mathematical" ("Short View of Tragedy," in Spingarn, *Critical Essays of the Seventeenth Century*, II, 221).

<sup>1</sup> Le Blanc, III, 87-98.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 96.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *supra*, p. 91, the passage on Shakespeare's style.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Voltaire, *Œuvres*, II, 320. Cf. D'Argens in the *Lettres juives* (1738). "J'ai vu dans une des plus belles pièces angloises trois sorcières descendre du haut du théâtre à calfourchon sur un manche-à-balai, et venir faire bouillir des herbes dans un chaudron" (IV, 236).

He then translates parts of the scenes between the ghost and Hamlet and comments:

C'est dans les scènes de cette espèce que Shakespeare prouve bien qu'il étoit grand poète; plus elles sont contre la nature, plus il y employe d'art et de force pour s'y soutenir. ... La plus grande beauté de cet acte (3<sup>e</sup>) et peut-être de toute la tragédie, est ce monologue si célèbre, où il examine si un homme malheureux doit se tuer ou non. M. de Voltaire en a donné une traduction en vers où il a rendu toute la force de l'original, ainsi vous trouverez bon que je vous y renvoie.<sup>1</sup> Il y a aussi des beautés dans la scène où le roi se sent pressé de ses remords.

This scene the Abbé translates, as also the one in which Hamlet refuses to kill the king at prayers. A criticism of the Abbé Prévost follows, but this is based upon a passage which is not really Prévost's own, having been translated by him from the English of Rowe.<sup>2</sup> Le Blanc continues:

Ophélie, fille de ce seigneur [Polonius], devient folle en apprenant sa mort. Elle est aimée d'Hamlet, mais si peu et d'une façon si singulière que ce n'est pas la peine d'en parler.<sup>3</sup> La malheureuse Ophélie à qui la tête a tourné, vient en différentes scènes pour faire, dire, et chanter mille extravagances.

Having thus disposed of Ophelia to his satisfaction, the Abbé turns to the gravediggers and observes:

Cette scène si vantée par les Anglois entre Hamlet et l'un des fossoyeurs commence par de misérables plaisanteries de la part du fossoyeur et finit du côté d'Hamlet par des lieux communs de morale sur la vanité des hommes et sur l'égalité que la mort rétablit entr'eux; le tout à l'occasion d'une tête de mort que le fossoyeur dit être celle d'un nommé Yorick, un fou du roi, qu'Hamlet dans son enfance a beaucoup connu. Shakespeare étoit un grand génie; mais ce n'est pas dans cette scène que j'en chercherois des preuves.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Le Blanc, II, 292. Contrast the *Bibliothèque britannique* (II, 124), which, after translating the Hamlet monologue "aussi littéralement que nous le pourrions sans être absolument barbares ou inintelligibles," remarks: "Voilà à peu près ce que dit Shakespeare: voici ce que M. de Voltaire lui fait dire" (October-December, 1733). After what Le Blanc had previously said about inadequate translations, he seems here to be overawed by Voltaire.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. my article, "The Abbé Prévost and Shakespeare," in *Modern Philology*, XVII, 198, note.

<sup>3</sup> Contrast Hazlitt, *Characters of Shakespeare's Plays*, London, 1908, pp. 68-69.

<sup>4</sup> This is a stock criticism of the gravedigger scene. Cf. Voltaire, *Lettres phil.* (Lanson ed.), II, 80; Riccoboni, *op. cit.*, p. 128; D'Argens, *op. cit.*, IV, 237; Prévost, *Pour et Contre*, XIV, 66-68.

Le Blanc speaks of Hamlet as moralizing "avec tant d'emphase," translates the speech of the dying Laertes, notes that the stage is left "jonché de corps morts," that the duration of the action is such as to be scarcely exactly known to the author himself, and that "ce poète a fait peu d'ouvrages dont il n'y ait les trois quarts à retrancher." Shakespeare wrote in a barbarous age, it is true, before the French themselves had developed any tragedy at all, but since his time the English have made little progress.

Si les pièces de leurs auteurs modernes sont plus régulières, elles n'ont pas à beaucoup près les mêmes beautés que celles de Shakespeare.<sup>1</sup> Il a su peindre toutes les passions excepté celles de l'amour.<sup>2</sup> S'il révolte par les petites choses qui lui sont familières, il étonne encore davantage par la sublimité de son génie. Avec tous ses défauts, c'est le plus grand poète que les Anglois aient eu dans la tragédie. Mais est-il bien vrai qu'en cette partie nous devons aujourd'hui même les regarder comme nos maîtres? Est-il bien vrai qu'en quelque genre que ce soit nous ne puissions les égaler?<sup>3</sup>

Thus national pride brings the passage to a close.

References to Henry VIII and to King John occur<sup>4</sup> and there are a few other scattered observations of slighter interest.<sup>5</sup> Volume III contains also a translation of a work known as the *Supplément du génie, ou l'art de composer des poèmes dramatiques tels que l'ont pratiqué plusieurs auteurs célèbres du théâtre anglois*, written by an author "qui est ici en réputation pour le théâtre et que la discrétion ne me permet pas de nommer."<sup>6</sup> The notes seem to be by Le Blanc himself. The text is a satire on English drama, the old sad story of indifference to the unities, the mingling of tragic and comic elements, etc.

In conclusion, what may we say of Le Blanc's treatment of English literature? Pope we find to be treated favorably, but what little is said is without special interest. Addison's *Cato* is praised, a fact which shows that Le Blanc is inclined to look favorably upon

<sup>1</sup> After all, Le Blanc does not really prefer plays like Addison's *Cato*. Cf. *supra*.

<sup>2</sup> By which strange exception must be meant drawing-room love à la *Marivaux* or perhaps à la *Crébillon fils*.

<sup>3</sup> Le Blanc, II, 286-302.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 168, notes.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 142, note g; 161, note d; 163, note a; 181, note a; 189, note b.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 135-95.



drama which is classical in form. Steele's *Conscious Lovers* is mentioned very favorably, but this praise comes lagging along after Prévost's. Swift is praised, but his satirical genius is neither understood nor appreciated. Shaftesbury is esteemed highly as a critic in sympathy with the French spirit. Gay's *Beggars' Opera* is severely censured. Le Blanc considers Richardson's *Pamela* interesting, but long drawn out, a verdict which is probably acceptable to most moderns. Dryden's *All for Love* is praised. Otway and Southerne are called great but are criticized for the mingling of tragic and comic, and Congreve is praised. In general, however, the Restoration period is condemned as to both style and morality. Waller is excepted from this condemnation, and Milton's *Paradise Lost* is praised highly, though considered somewhat lacking in "sagesse" and "goût." Raleigh, Spencer, and Fairfax are mentioned, and attention is called to the influence of the Bible upon English style. Chaucer has been read with interest. In short, all this is very fragmentary criticism, which could have had little influence, but it is interesting as an indication of the sort of impressions a Frenchman like Le Blanc brought back with him from England. Shakespeare is deserving of a more detailed summary.

In his treatment of Shakespeare, Le Blanc has obviously tried to be fair, but his regard for the "bienséances" is too great for him to be able to accept the mingling of tragic and comic elements or to appreciate their significance as a more complete and less artificial portrayal of life. It is that inability in one form or another which constantly prevents him from showing a more complete understanding or admiration of Shakespeare. *Henry VI* has interested him. It is worth noting that he has not overlooked Shakespeare's historical drama, since only two years later (1747) Hénault brought out his *François II*, which was admittedly inspired by Shakespeare's history plays.<sup>1</sup> Of course it is not certain that there is connection between Hénault and Le Blanc, especially since La Place's translations of Shakespeare intervene (1745). However, Le Blanc is at least pointing the way in a new direction, which unfortunately was not soon followed by men of sufficient genius to establish historical drama on the French stage. *Othello*, *Julius Caesar*, *Macbeth*, and *Hamlet* call

<sup>1</sup> H. Lion, *Le Président Hénault* (1903), pp. 236 ff.



forth interesting comments on the part of the Abbé, but on the whole it is more criticism of "faults" than of "beauties." For this, however, there was no lack of precedent in England itself, and this should not be forgotten in estimating French criticism of the period. Not to make further mention of Rymer, Charles Gildon (1665-1724) had remarked that "Shakespeare is indeed stor'd with a great many beauties, but they are in a heap of rubbish."<sup>1</sup> Rowe (1674-1718), however, had expressed the wish that Rymer had not limited his attention to the faults, but had "observ'd some of the beauties too, as I think it became an exact and equal critique to do. It seems strange that he should allow nothing good in the whole."<sup>2</sup> Le Blanc's judgments, as those of a man only moderately gifted, represent better than would those of a man of genius the attitude of the average cultivated public of the time, interested in foreign literature to an increasing extent, willing to treat Shakespeare, while criticizing him, with much the same courtesy they would have used in society, but not extremely enthusiastic as yet and not able to accept the mingling of tragic and comic elements in tragedy. It is noteworthy that Le Blanc, like his predecessors, seems uninterested in Shakespearean comedy. It is not probable that Le Blanc's *Lettres* had great influence. They were too readily absorbed by the great current of interest that was being directed toward England by men of greater abilities than he. However, they do help to furnish a sort of barometer of the attitude of the cultivated French public at the time when the first translation of Shakespeare's works appeared.<sup>3</sup> It is of interest too that many of his letters were addressed to Buffon, La Chaussée, Duclos, Bouhier, Freret, Crébillon père, Crébillon fils, Du Bos, and Montesquieu, as well as to others of lesser prominence.<sup>4</sup> To have brought English literature increasingly to the attention of these men is to have rendered valuable service.

<sup>1</sup> Charles Gildon, *op. cit.*, p. 425.

<sup>2</sup> Rowe, *Introduction to Shakespeare's Works*, I (1709), xxxiv-xxxv.

<sup>3</sup> La Place's partial translation in 1745.

<sup>4</sup> Ninety-two letters in all, addressed as follows: Buffon, 19; La Chaussée, 7; M. H. ..., 6; M. le Marquis du T. ..., 5; M. l'abbé d'Olivet, 5; M. Du Clos, 5; M. le Chevallier de B. ..., 4; M. Freret, 4; M. le Président Bouhier, 4; M. le Marquis de G. ..., 3; M. le Duc de Nivernois, 3; M. de Crébillon, 3; M.L.A.H. ..., 3; M. le Marquis de Lomellini, 3; M. l'Abbé Du Bos, 2; M. de Crébillon fils, 2; M. le Duc de C. ..., 2; M. l'Abbé Sallier, 2; M. le Comte de C. ..., 2; M. l'Abbé L. C. ..., 2; M. le Président de Montesquieu, 2; M. l'Abbé Gédouin, 1; M. de Moncrif, 1; M. l'Abbé Rothelin, 1; M. de Maupertuis, 1.

Of the style of Shakespeare, Le Blanc had spoken most worthily. He had not failed to note its power and its beauty, the force of Shakespeare's expressions, the vividness and reality of the best scenes, the manner in which the supernatural element was used to grip the spectator and compel his attention. The Abbé had seen too that much of this power was lost in translation and could never be felt by a Frenchman who did not know English. In his objection to frequent changes of scene and the lapse of time, as well as to the scenes of buffoonery, Le Blanc was of his time and of his nation, but it should not be forgotten that even now Shakespeare is scarcely given on the stage without omissions and that some plays where there is greatest violation of the unities are almost impossible of satisfactory presentation before a modern audience. The tendency of modern drama is certainly in the main toward the unities, sanely interpreted, rather than away from them. No one but Shakespeare has to so great a degree been able to be a law unto himself. His success has rather been in spite of his disregard of the unities than because of it. Le Blanc's greatest shortcoming is in not fully sensing the great throbbing human life in Shakespeare's work and seeing that it is this which justifies the methods exemplified in his greatest plays.

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## "THE PSALTER OF THE PIG," AN IRISH LEGEND

The following Middle-Irish legend is known to me in five manuscripts: (1) *Book of Fermoy* (RIA, p. 54, col. 2, l. 18—p. 56, col. 2, l. 16) with a gap of fifteen lines on page 55. Fifteenth century. Vellum.<sup>1</sup> (2) *23. C. 19* (RIA, p. 318, l. 6—p. 321). Written at various times, no part earlier than the late eighteenth century. Paper. (3) *23. M. 47* (RIA, Part V, pp. 93–95). Nineteenth century. Paper. (4) *23. M. 50* (RIA, p. 154, l. 1—p. 156, l. 6). About 1750. Paper. (5) *24. B. 27* (RIA, pp. 292, 294, 296, 298).<sup>2</sup> Nineteenth century. Paper.

A sixth copy, found in the fifteenth-century vellum *Book of Lismore*, has been printed and translated by S. H. O'Grady, *Silva Gadelica* (London and Edinburgh, 1892, I, 87–89; II, 94–96).

The paper manuscripts, though agreeing in general with the version represented by *Lismore*, contain interesting variants and in some instances serve to improve O'Grady's transcript. The text here printed is based on MS *23. C. 19*, the most complete of the paper copies.

The version in the *Book of Fermoy* differs so markedly from that of the other manuscripts as to justify printing separately. The manuscript is badly defaced and in many places is illegible. Whenever possible I have filled the gaps with readings from the *Book of Lismore*.

Caencomhrac, the hero of the *Saltair na nuice*, was abbot of Louth, and, according to the Four Masters,<sup>3</sup> died in the year 898: *Caencomhrac Insi Endoimh, epscop 7 abb Lughmaidh, aitti Aenacain, mac Eccertaigh, 7 Dúnadhaigh, mac Eccertaigh ó tnat Uí Chuinn na*

<sup>1</sup> There is a short account of the tale in Todd's description of the manuscript, *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy, Irish MSS Series*, I, No. 1 (1870), p. 21.

<sup>2</sup> The text is here accompanied by a rough English translation.

<sup>3</sup> *Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland by the Four Masters*, ed., John O'Donovan, I, Dublin, 1856.

*mbocht, dég an treas lá fichet Iulí*, "Caencomrac of Inis Endaimh, bishop and abbot of Louth, tutor of Aenacan, son of Ecertach, and of Dunadhach, son of Ecertach, from whom are descended the Ui Cuinn na mBocht,<sup>1</sup> died the twenty-third day of July." The Ecertach who figures in our tale as a son of Aedacan, is doubtless a reminiscence of the personage of the same name referred to in the annalistic passage, where Ecertach is the father of Aenacan. The Four Masters record the death of Ecertach at the year 893: *Egertach, airchinnech Eccailsi bicce, athair Aenacáin 7 Dunadhaigh, dég, "E., archdeacon of Ecclais bec, father of A. and D., died."* Eogan, represented in the legend as the brother of Ecertach, is perhaps to be identified with an Eogan who appears in a genealogy of Conn na mBocht as the grandfather of Ecertach: *Maolfinden, mac Cuinn [na mBocht], mic Joseph, mic Donnchadha, mic Dunadhaigh, mic Eicceartaigh, mic Luachain, mic Eoghain, mic Aodhagáin, mic Torbaigh, mic Gormain, do Uibh Ceallaigh Breagh*, "Maolfinden, son of Conn . . . son of Ecertach, son of Luachan, son of Eogan . . . of the O'Kellys of Breagh" (*F.M.*, ad an. 1056). As in the annals, the Eogan of the legend is represented as the son of Aedacan. His death is recorded by the Four Masters at the year 845: *Eoghan .i. angoire, mac Aedhagáin, mic Torbaigh, ó Cluain mic Nóis, décc*, "Eogan, the anchorite, of Clonmacnoise, son of Aedacan, son of Torbach, died." According to the same authority Aedacan died at Clonmacnoise in the year 834: *Aodhagan mac Torbaigh, abb Lucchmaidh, décc ina ailethre hi cCluain mic Nóis; Eoghan, mac Aedhagáin, ro ansidhe hi cCluain mic Nóis, conadh uadha ro chinset Meic Cuinn na m-bocht innte*, "Aedacan, son of Torbach, abbot of Louth, died on his pilgrimage in Clonmacnoise; Eogan, son of Aedacan, remained in Clonmacnoise and from him are descended the Mac Cuinn na mBocht there." The Hy-Many of the legend is the native district of the O'Kellys.<sup>2</sup> That Eogan should come to be regarded as the brother of his grandson is quite in accord with recognized habits of tradition.

<sup>1</sup> The Conn na mBocht here referred to is identified by Zimmer (*Zt. f. vergl. Sprachforsch.*, XXVIII [1887], 674) with the grandfather of Maolmuire, the scribe of the *Lebor na hUidre*. According to the Four Masters, Conn died in 1059.

<sup>2</sup> John O'Donovan, *The Tribes and Customs of Hy-Many, Commonly Called O'Kelly's Country* (Irish Archaeological Society), Dublin, 1843, pp. 2 ff.; *The Tribes of Ireland*, Dublin, 1852, p. 37, n. 7.

Caencomrac is referred to in several other early Irish documents. In the *Annals of Ulster* (Ed., Wm. M. Hennessy, I, Dublin, 1887), he is called *episcopus et princeps Lugmaid* and his death is recorded at the year 902. In the *Martyrology of Gorman* (Ed., Whitley Stokes [Henry Bradshaw Society], London, 1895, p. 143) his day is given as July 23, and a gloss adds: *epscoḡ, ó Inish Éndaimh for Loch Ribh. Cain Comrac Innsi Endaimh* is also referred to at July 23 in the *Martyrology of Tallaght* (*Calendar of Irish Saints, the Martyrology of Tallaght*, ed., Matthew Kelly, Dublin, N.D., p. xxx).<sup>1</sup> The *Martyrology of Donegal* contains the following entry at July 30: *Caencomrac ó Inis Éndaim for Loch Ribh, acus rob epscoḡ é i gCluain meic Nóis ar dtús, do muintir Dega a chénel, acus ro fágaib Cluain ar méd a airmidne innte ár ro adairset na comshoigsi é amail fháid, co ndechaid d'iarraid uaignesa for Loch Ribh iaram, "Caencomrac of Inis Endaim in Loch Ree, who at first was bishop in Clonmacnoise, his kinship was of the muintir Degha;"<sup>2</sup> and because of the excess of reverence paid him there—for the neighboring people venerated him as a prophet—he left Cluain and went to seek solitude in Loch Ree." (Cf. *Silva Gadelica*, II, 472, 518).<sup>3</sup>*

The name Mochta, attached to Caencomrac in the *Lismore* version of the legend, was borne by several saints in early Ireland. The most famous of these founded the monastery of Louth<sup>4</sup>—a fact which may account for the name being connected with Caencomrac. He is commemorated at August 19, and his death is recorded by Tigernach (*Revue celtique*, XVII [1896], 134), the *Annals of Ulster*, and the Four Masters at 534.<sup>5</sup> The life of St. Mochta (Maucteus) is given in the *Acta sanctorum* (Boll.), XXXVII

<sup>1</sup> July 23 is also given as his day in the tract *De quibusdam episcopis*, compiled by Duald mac Fírbis in 1644 (*Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy, Irish MSS Series*, I, No. 1, p. 114).

<sup>2</sup> Caencomrac's family, the *Úi Degha*, is mentioned in the *Book of Leinster* (Facs., 337, a; cf. *Silva Gadelica*, II, 472, 518).

<sup>3</sup> The name Caencomrac is common in the Irish monastic records. See, for example, *F.M.*, ad an. 787, 927, 934, 941, 945, 952, 961, 986; *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy, Irish MSS Series*, I, No. 1, p. 100.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Alphons Bellesheim, *Geschichte der katholischen Kirche in Irland* (Mainz, 1890), I, 78.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Adamnan's *Life of St. Columba*, ed., Wm. Reeves, Edinburgh, 1874, p. 248; Bury, *Life of St. Patrick*, London, 1905, pp. 309 f.; *Martyrology of Gorman*, ed. cit., p. 161; Rhys, *Celtic Folk-Lore Welsh and Manx*, Oxford, II (1901), 545; J. H. Todd, *St. Patrick, Apostle of Ireland*, Dublin, 1864, pp. 29 ff.

(1867), 745, and in the *Acta sanctorum Hiberniae ex codice Salmaticensi*, ed., de Smedt and de Backer, Edinburgh and London, 1888, pp. 905 ff.<sup>1</sup>

Loch Ri (Ribh), now Loch Ree, an expansion of the Shannon between Athlone and Lanesborough, is famous in Irish history and legend.<sup>2</sup> Its islands appear to have been favorite resorts of Irish monks during the Middle Ages,<sup>3</sup> and during the Norse period they were subject to frequent depredations at the hands of the vikings.<sup>4</sup> According to the *Aidead Echach maic Mairreda*, found in *LU*, the lake was formed from the urine of a horse given to Ribh by the fairy king Mider.<sup>5</sup> A monster that dwelt beneath its waters was slain by Finn mac Cumhail (*Transactions of the Ossianic Society*, II, Dublin, 1855, p. 55; VI [1861], 122). The Irish notes to the *Martyrology of Oengus*<sup>6</sup> contain an account of Fuinche the Rough, who was so called because "when they sought to wed her to a husband . . . she sprang into Lough Erne and passed under water, both fresh water and sea, till she appeared at Inis Clothrann [now Quaker's Island, in Loch Ree] and came to Diarmait,<sup>7</sup> who asked her on what business she was bound. Then she tells him her tales, and thus was she, with shells and sea-slime (*turscair* [var., *trustur*] *muiride*) cleaving to her."

The story of the monastery beneath the lake and of Caenchorrac's sojourn therein appears to be of local origin and, in its present form, is the work of a writer who was acquainted with the monastic tradition represented by the annals. It is more or less closely

<sup>1</sup> There is said to be a life of Mochta in Colgan's *Acta sanctorum*, but this work is not accessible to me in Chicago.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. James Woods, *Annals of Westmeath, Ancient and Modern*, Dublin, 1907, pp. 145, 148 ff.; T. O. Russell, *Beauties and Antiquities of Ireland*, London, 1897, pp. 47 ff.; John O'Donovan, *Tribes and Customs of Hy-Many*, p. 10; *F.M.*, I, p. 557, note f.

<sup>3</sup> *Annals of Clonmacnois*, ed., Denis Murphy, Dublin, 1896, ad an. 547; *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, 1901, p. 69. See further Dom Louis Gougaud, *Les Chrétientés celtiques*, Paris, 1911, p. 103, and the works there cited.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Annals of Ireland: Three Fragments*, ed., John O'Donovan (*Irish Archaeological and Celtic Society*), Dublin, 1860, *passim*; Margaret Stokes, *Early Christian Architecture in Ireland*, London, 1878, p. 99. One of the prerogatives of the king of Cruachain was "to have a fleet on Loch Ri" (*Leabhar na g-Ceart*, ed., John O'Donovan [*Celtic Society*], Dublin, 1847, p. 265). See further James Woods, *op. cit.*, p. 149 f.

<sup>5</sup> *Silva Gadelica*, I, 233 ff.; II, 265 ff. Cf. *Rev. Celt.*, XV (1894), 482 f.

<sup>6</sup> *Martyrology of Oengus: Féilire Óengusso*, ed., Whitley Stokes (*Henry Bradshaw Society*), London, 1905, p. 51.

<sup>7</sup> Patron saint of the island; fl. c. 540. Cf. *Mart. of Oengus*, p. 35; *Mart. of Gorman*, p. 13.



paralleled by many accounts of sunken churches, castles, and cities and of visits made by mortals to the subaqueous world in medieval romance and in modern folk-lore.<sup>1</sup>

Early Celtic tradition is particularly rich in accounts of uncanny swine.<sup>2</sup> One of the oldest and best-known Irish stories is that of the pigs of Derbrenn, which were human beings transformed into animals.<sup>3</sup>

# TEXT OF THE SALT AIR NA MUICE FROM THE BOOK OF FERMOY

Seel Saltrach na Muic annso sis.

Espuc amrai boi hi Chuain maic Nóis, Coenchomrach Indsi Endoim a ain[m]. Do muintir Degad a ceinel, 7 dia oilethri dochuaid . . . (?)<sup>4</sup> uail. Ba mor tra a airmitin a Chuain, ar [r]ofindadh anti dib nogebadh focheaice [no pian no-]fuiged, 7 atbeiread raithi reim . . . "nogebadh báss. An tan ba mor [le]is onoir a Chuain,—oir no-adairsed he amal faith

<sup>1</sup> In addition to the citations enumerated in *Modern Philology*, XII (1915), 603, nn. 2 and 3 (cf. *Modern Philology*, XIII [1916], 731 ff.), see T. C. Croker, *Researches in the South of Ireland*, London, 1824, p. 98; Edward Davies, *Mythology and Rites of the British Druids*, London, 1809, p. 146; Rhys, *Celtic Folk-Lore*, I, pp. 74, 191 f., 381 ff.; II, 426 ff. 436 ff.; Arthur C. L. Brown, *Anniversary Papers by Colleagues and Pupils of George Lyman Kittredge*, Boston and London, 1913, pp. 236 ff.; *Ulster Journal of Archaeology* VII (1859), 348; Lady Wilde, *Ancient Legends of Ireland*, rev. ed., London, 1899, p. 248; M. A. Courtney, *Cornish Feasts and Folk-Lore*, Penzance, 1890, pp. 66 ff.; Robert Hunt; *Popular Romances of the West of England*, a new impression, London, 1916, pp. 189 ff.; Robert C. Hope, *Legendary Lore of the Holy Wells of England: Including Rivers, Lakes, Fountains, and Springs*, London, 1893, pp. 132, 181; J. F. Campbell, *Popular Tales of the West Highlands*, London, III (1892), 421 ff.; Marie Trevelyan, *Folk-Lore and Folk-Stories of Wales*, London, 1909, pp. 11 ff. Fletcher S. Bassett (*Sea Phantoms: or Legends and Superstitions of the Sea and of Sailors*, Chicago, 1892, p. 480) tells a modern Irish yarn connected with the town of Kilkokeen, which, like the monastery in the *Saltair na muice*, lies beneath the Shannon River. "It was said that, in 1823, a boat's crew of fifteen men were seen in church, who came from this subaqueous village, to receive spiritual consolation. The legend further relates that a ship came into the river one night, and anchored here at the wharves of a fine city. The next morning, one of the inhabitants came aboard, and engaged them to go to Bordeaux; and the day after their return with a rich cargo, the city sank and never reappeared." According to a Shropshire tradition, a monastery once stood on the ground now occupied by Colemere. A spring near the monastery burst forth and overwhelmed it. The chapel bells may still be heard ringing at certain times (C. S. Burne, *Shropshire Folk-Lore*, p. 67). For a church overwhelmed by water and "now represented on dry land only by a hermit in a violent hurry," see *Celtic Review*, III (1906-7), 273. See, further, Paul Sébillot, *Le Folk-Lore des Pêcheurs*, Paris, 1901, p. 359 ff., and Franz Schmarsel, *Literarhistorische Forschungen*, Heft 53, Berlin, 1913, pp. vi-viii (Bibliog.), pp. 62 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Rhys, *Celtic Folklore*, II, 501 ff.; J. A. MacCulloch, *The Religion of the Ancient Celts*, Edinburgh, 1911, pp. 209 ff.; see further *Transactions of the Kilkenny Archaeological Society*, II, 303 ff.; *Revue celtique*, XV (1894), 475.

<sup>3</sup> *Revue celtique*, XV (1894), 471.

<sup>4</sup> "erb eb" (?) at the end of a line.

<sup>5</sup> "reim" at the end of a line.

—as ed dorinde: teact cu hInis Endaim for Loch Rí di oilithri, ar ba huain leis fri hórt 7 oifrend. Batar tra drem dia manchaib-sium, 7 no-aithigdis for tfr amach ar cend almsan 7 phrimti fer Teabtha, or bátar fir Tethfa a ngeillsine cu mor dosom .i. an *cét* orc 7 an *cét* loeg 7 an *cét* uan 7 bairgen gacha loisti, 7 ni berthi a n-ár tar nónmor *acht* cu mbeitis fa eiss dosom, 7 dixit:

“Adlochar dom rí;  
fir Tebthai dia tfr  
ní ragsat *nech*,  
nír gonad *nech* dib.

“Atbeirim-si frib,—  
ní fa bec an bad—  
*acht* cu luaite mé,  
bid nónmor bar n-ar.

“Ocus gid uathad daib,” or se, “ocus gid sochaide bess an bar n-aighaid, *acht* cu nderntai m’umrad-sa (?), do soisti slán.

“Nónmar a Tebthai tririg,  
roed mfi do mfiib,  
denat Coencomrac d’imrad,  
roisid imshlán dá rírib].”

Do-bid-sium itir Cluain 7 Inis Endoim .i. seal . . . . (?)<sup>1</sup> Aroili la n-and dosom an Inis [Endoim] lotar na manaig asin indsi. Lotar Eoglán 7 Ecer-tach d]á bronndaltai an cl[éirigh] .i. da mhac Aedacáin [d’Íb] Maine, cu rangatar Sliab Liat[r]o[ma a n-Ib Maine]. Din bátar ua Fannain oc seile gur marbsat traed (?) do mucaib altai. Dorads[at] banb dona cléirchib. Tucsad tra na cl[éirig] an banb-sin leo co hInis Endoim. Curset forsin ngabail boi os cind na teined. Tiagait fein for fud na hindsi do gabail a salm. Fagaib[er] Coencomrac na henar sin durtaigh. Nir cia[n] do cu faca an scal mor cuice a bun na tuinde. Bendaigis don cléirech. Bendcais an cléirech dosom. “Can tanaigais, a chleirig?” or Coencomrac. “Don tuind-si amuig,” ol an fer mor. “Cid tue sund?” or Coencomrac. “A ndiaid na muice ut,” or seisem, 7 tue a osnaid os airt a carad. “Cred sin?” or Coencomrac. “Ni hansa,” or se. “Mainistir fil linde san . . . . (?)”<sup>2</sup>

“[C]red sin?” or Caencomhruc. “Ni hansa,” or se. “Mainistir fil linne

<sup>1</sup> “m and dib(?)” at the beginning of a line.

<sup>2</sup> MS, “se” (?) at the end of a line. On the next line the scribe adds: Don leltai amuig don dulleoig ata in cuid eil don scel-s[o]: The rest of this story is overleaf. The remainder of the column is occupied by a memorandum. Cf. *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy, Irish MSS Series*, I, No. 1, p. 21. The tale is continued in a different hand on p. 56.

fón loch-sa anois, 7 doronsad macaim na mainistreich . . . <sup>1</sup> [im]marbaidh cor cu[i]red amach iat hi rachtaib muc, 7 is iat do marbadh hi sleib Liathtroma, 7 is aen díbside inti fil forsan ngabail ugud, 7 is meisi a athair collaide ón, 7 ac so dúid sunn a shaltair am' laim-si, 7 dobeirim duid-si hi, a C[h]aencombruic, ar n-aentadh 7 for anmuin inti diar rofoghain eusan- iugh, or da maradh budhein e, is maith doregerudh in sthalm gabail." Saltair na Muice alberthai fria iarsin, 7 romair si fri ciana iarsin hi Cluain mac Nois. An banbh adberthae fri hEoghan 7 ba he-sin in banbh re . . . oel (?) <sup>2</sup> tuire. Cedaigis in cleirich don fhir moir (?) a mhac do braith lais dia adhnacul. Faemais. "[Ci]d duit, a Chaencomraic, gan techt limsa do fhég[a]dh na mainisdrech?" Lodar díblfnaib fon loch [issi]n mainistir. Tie Caencomrac on tráth go roile [i]nte oc urd 7 oc oifirind. Machtnaighidh [in n-in]adh (?) 7 a haine. "Ni hanna la Dia," ol in cléirech, "[ar n-aitr]eb fo uisci fnas isna hinadaib ele." [Ocus tie] Caencomrac iarnabaruch dia thigh 7 se [lán] do urscur in locha, 7 no-athaighed [. . . e]o minic don mainisdir-sin in cen [do m]air (?) Ní bidh dicheileith fair fnte [o sin am]lach.

Teighdis iarum cléirigh Locha Ri g[ach] Diardain Cásce do Inis Endoimh do [shaig]idh Chae[n]comraic ar daigh ola do coisercadh. [Dogn]f[í]dh-sum tra ort ocus oifirinn 7 co[ . . . ] proie]pt gacha Diardain Cásce. [Ba gnathr f]leadugad issin lo sin iar n-urd [7 iar n-aifreann. Doberar]iarum linn 7 biadh dona cl[éir]chib amail doberth[ad] (?) dogres. Luidh Caencom[rac] uathib im]lach combai irmhor in lae ina n-egmais. Tig dia saigidh iarum 7 iad ag praindiugud. Bennachais doib; bennachs[ac]-sumh dosumh on mudh cedna. Doc[í] tra na mísa lán do shail occa . . . <sup>3</sup> oca tomait ga baidh for a cairiugud im tomhailt na sailli isin Co[r]gus co tard cursugud mór forro, 7 rogab ferc 7 lonnus mor é, curfas bruth dermhair air conar fedsat fegadh in aghaidh la ruithnem na diachta bai in a ghnuis. Teit Caencomrac uatha amach iarsin 7 ní facus riam asa haithli, 7 ní feass in fo an loch dochuaidh do aitreab isin mainistir do scarudh fri cleasrudh in thsaeghail 7 na cléirech no in aingil rostogaib docum nime, 7 nir chaitset sruithe na nGaideal feoil issin Chaplait osin amach.

Fin[í]t].

#### TRANSLATION

The Tale of the Psalter of the Pig here.

There was a noble bishop in Clonmacnoise; Caencomrac of Inis Endaim was his name, his kinship was of the *muintir Dega*. And on his pilgrimage he went [to Clonmacnoise . . . ?]. Great then was the

<sup>1</sup> Erasure in MS.

<sup>2</sup> "oel (?) " at the beginning of a line. Read "boel" as in *Lis f*

<sup>3</sup> Erasure in MS.

reverence paid him in Cluain; for he would learn whether any one of them should have reward or punishment, and he would tell the quarter of the year . . . in which he should die. When the honor paid him at Clonmacnoise became too great in his eyes,—for they revered him as a prophet—what he did was to go to Inis Endaim in Loch Ree for a pilgrimage, because in that place he thought there was leisure enough for performing the canonical order and for mass.

[With him] there was a company of his monks, and they used to go out upon the mainland for the alms and first-fruits of the men of Teffia.<sup>1</sup> For the men of Teffia were greatly in submission to him: to wit, the first pigling and the first calf and the first lamb and a loaf for every kneading trough; and their slain should not be more than nine provided they were under *cess* to him.<sup>2</sup> And he said:

"I give thanks to my King!  
The men of Teffia, for their land  
They have slain no one (?);  
None of them has been slain.

"I say unto you,—  
Not small the friendship—  
Provided only you invoke me,  
Your slain shall be nine.

"And though there be few of you," said he, "and though there be a multitude opposed to you, provided only you think of me (?), you shall reach safety.

"Nine men out of melodious Teffia  
Against (?) a hundred thousand of thousands,—  
Let them think on Caencomrac;  
Verily they shall reach safety."

For a while he dwelt between Cluain and Inis Endaim, first in one, then in the other (?). One day, while he was in Inis [Endaim], the monks went out of the island. There went Eogan [and Ecertach], two dear disciples of the cleric, the two sons of Aedacan of [Hy-]Many, till they reached Slieve Leitrim [in Hy-Many]. There the Ui Fannain were, hunting, and they killed a number (?) of wild pigs. They gave a pigling to the clerics.

<sup>1</sup> A district comprising parts of the present counties of Westmeath and Longford. John O'Donovan, *The Topographical Poems of John O'Dubhagáin*, etc. (Irish Archaeological and Celtic Society), Dublin, 1862, notes, p. ix. Cf. *Revue celtique*, XVI (1895), 80.

<sup>2</sup> An Irish life of St. Grellan, the patron saint of the Hy-Maine, gives *gach ced arc is gac ced uan* (every firstling pig and every firstling lamb) as part of the tribute paid by the tribe to Grellan. (O'Donovan, *Tribes and Customs of Hy-Many*, p. 13.) *Esingulis Manachis domibus patroni sui S. Grillani successoribus tres denarii quotannis, primus porculus, primus agnus, et primus equinus, deferbantur.* (Lynch, *Cambrensis Eversus* ed., Kelly, II, 508.

Then the clerics carried the pigling with them to Inis Endaim. They placed it on the fork that was over the fire. They on their part go about the island to chant their psalms. Caenchorrac is left alone in the oratory. He was not long so till he saw a great phantom coming toward him out the bottom of the water. [The phantom] saluted the cleric; the cleric saluted him. "Whence hast thou come, O cleric?" said Caenchorrac. "Out of the water," said the big man. "What brought thee here?" said Caenchorrac. "[I have come] for the pig yonder," said the former, and sighed . . . (?). "What's that?" said Caenchorrac. "Not hard to answer," said he. "We have a monastery in the . . . (?)."<sup>1</sup>

"What's that?" said Caenchorrac. "Not hard to answer," said he. "We have a monastery under this lake now. And the young men of the monastery committed sin, so that they have been put out in the form of pigs, and it is they who were killed in Slieve Leitrim. And one of them is he on the fork yonder, and I am his mortal father. And here is his psalter in my hand, and to thee I give it, O Caenchorrac, . . . (?)<sup>2</sup> of our union and for the soul of the person whom it served until to-day, for if he himself now lived, it is well he would have arranged the psalm-singing." Thereafter it was called the Psalter of the Pig, and it remained for a long time in Clonmacnoise. Eogan was called in *Banbh*, for he was the pigling with a boar's mouth(?). The cleric permitted the big man to take his son with him to bury him. He consented. "Why not come with me, O Caenchorrac, to see the monastery?" They went together under the lake into the monastery. Caenchorrac remains in it from one canonical hour till the corresponding one next day performing canonical service and mass. He wonders at the place (?) and its delightfulness. "It is as easy for God,"<sup>3</sup> said the cleric, "[to cause us to dwell (lit., our dwelling)] under water as in other places." [And] on the morrow Caenchorrac [goes] home, and he [covered with] lake wrack.<sup>3</sup> And he used often to visit that monastery as long as he lived (?); nothing was hidden from him therein from that time forth.

Afterwards the clerics of Loch Ree used to go every Easter Thursday to Inis Endaim to [visit] Caenchorrac that he might consecrate oil for them. He used to celebrate canonical service and mass and . . . preaching every Easter Thursday. A banquet [was usual] on that day after the celebration of the hours [and mass]. Thereupon food and drink [is given] to the clerics [as it was always given (?)]. Caenchorrac went out [from them] and was absent from them during the greater part of the day. Thereafter he comes to them while they were at meat. He greeted them; they

<sup>1</sup> For the gap, see p. 448, n. 2, above.

<sup>2</sup> Though no gap is apparent at this point in the manuscript, something seems to be missing.

<sup>3</sup> Compare Fuinche's condition in the story given above, p. 446.

greeted him in the same manner. Then he sees the platters full of bacon, and them eating it. Thereupon he took to chiding them for eating the bacon in Lent, and he reproved them severely. And great anger and indignation seized him so that his wrath increased mightily, and they could not look him in the face because of the brilliance of the godliness in his countenance. Then Caencomrac goes out from them, and he was never seen afterwards. And it is not known whether he went to dwell under the lake in the monastery so as to shut himself off from the reveling of the world and of the clerics or whether the angels took him up to Heaven. And from that time forth the wise ones of the Gael have never eaten flesh on Maunday Thursday.<sup>1</sup>

#### TEXT OF THE *SALTAIR NA MUICE* FROM THE MODERN MANUSCRIPTS

Easpuc<sup>2</sup> uasal rábái i *Cluain* maic Nóis, Caon Comrac a ainm 7 Mochta a ainm ar tús. Mac oighi hé 7 comharba De, 7 da oilithri dochuaidh co *Cluain* maic Nóis. Ba mor tra<sup>3</sup> a airmitin 7 a<sup>4</sup> chadhus i *Cluain*, aro finnadh<sup>5</sup> o Dia gac aen díbh no gheabed bás in fuighbed fochraic no in fuigh[bedh] pian, 7 no indisedh do chách in bhliadhain do gheibedh bás in ráithi deádhnach don bhliadain a imt[h]us. Ba mór lais iarum a<sup>6</sup> airmhitin i *Cluain*, 7 táinic co hInnis Eandaimh for Loch Ri a ailithre do dheadnamh<sup>7</sup> innti, ar ba huaighech<sup>8</sup> leis hí fria hórd 7 aifreann 7 írnaighthi.

Bhatar dream írnaighthech do mhanchaib na fharradh fnnte, 7 no théightis for tír immach air ceann almsain 7 primhidin i Teathbha, ar do bhatar fir Theabhtha i n-geillsine mhóir dho .i. céad arc 7 céad lægh 7 céad

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Whitley Stokes, *Lives of Saints from the Book of Lismore* (Anec. Oxon.), Oxford, 1890, s.v. *caplait* in Index. On the consecration of oil, the feast (in commemoration of the Last Supper), and other ceremonies of Maunday Thursday (the fifth day of Holy Week), see Brand, *Popular Antiquities of Great Britain*, ed., W. O. Hazlitt, I (London, 1870), p. 84; K. A. H. Kellner, *Heortology, a History of the Christian Festivals from Their Origin to the Present Day*, London, 1908, p. 72; G. Rietschel, *Lehrbuch der Liturgik* (Sammlung von Lehrbüchern der praktischen Theologie), I (Berlin, 1900), 197. On the severity of the Lenten Rule in Celtic monasteries, see F. E. Warren, *The Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church*, Oxford, 1881, p. 146.

<sup>2</sup> 23. C. 19 lacks title. 24. B. 27, "Sgeal air Loch Ri"; 23. M. 47, "Psaltair na Muice annso"; 23. M. 50, "Saltair na Muice annso." O'Grady's text is headed: "Imthecht Caencomraic."

<sup>3</sup> 24. B. 27, 23. M. 47, and 23. M. 50, "trath."

<sup>4</sup> 24. B. 27, 23. M. 47, and 23. M. 50 omit.

<sup>5</sup> 24. B. 27, "arna fionnad"; 23. M. 47, and 23. M. 50, "ara fionnadh."

<sup>6</sup> Omitted in 23. M. 50.

<sup>7</sup> 23. C. 19, "7 a ailithre do dheadnamh"; 23. M. 47 and 23. M. 50, "do déanamh a oilithre."

<sup>8</sup> 23. C. 19, "huaighech."

uan<sup>1</sup> 7 baighfion gacha loisdi 7 screapal gacha caithreach, 7 nac rachadh a n-ar dar nonbar acht co mbéidis fo screapal dosam, amail isbert:

"Atlocar<sup>2</sup> dom rígh;  
fir Teabhtha dia tír,  
ní ró ghonsat neach,  
gonad neach d'fíh.<sup>3</sup>

"Adeirim-si fribh,—  
ní ba breo in bádh,<sup>4</sup>—  
mad<sup>5</sup> luatte me,  
bid nonbur bar n-ár.

"7 deirim frib-se,<sup>6</sup> gid sochaidi bes in bar tograim, giamba huathadh doibh, acht co nder[n]tai m'imrath-sa, ragthai slan," dia n-ebert.<sup>7</sup>

"Nonbur a Teabhtha<sup>8</sup> thiri,  
fri<sup>9</sup> céit míle dho mílīb,  
denat Cæncomrac dh'imradh,  
raghat imshlan dia t'fíbh.<sup>10</sup>

"Ní berat buidhine a mbuadha  
dho shluaga domon cia,  
acht co mbiad<sup>11</sup> eum fhoghnadh-sa,  
is am<sup>12</sup> fhoghnadh dho Dhia."

Dobht-siam<sup>13</sup> amlaidh sin idir Chluain 7 Inis Endaimh seal. Feacht dia mbúi in Inis Endaimh, lotar na manaigh immach. Luid Eogán 7 Eicertach, dá mac Ædhacain<sup>14</sup> d'Ibh Maine, dá bron[n]dhaltheadh in chlérigh co ránn-catar sliabh Liatroma a n-Ib Maine. Is ann batar I Fannain<sup>15</sup> oc seilg isin

<sup>1</sup> "cead arc—uan": 23. M. 47 and 23. M. 50, "cead dan 7 cead óre 7 cead laodh." For "orc" 24. B. 27 reads: "tore."

<sup>2</sup> 24. B. 27, 23. M. 47, and 23. M. 50 omit this and the following stanza.

<sup>3</sup> For the last two lines *Lis.* has:  
"nir gonadh nech d'fíbh,  
ní ró gonsat nech."

<sup>4</sup> *Lis.*, "bágh."

<sup>5</sup> *Lis.* adds "dia."

<sup>6</sup> 7—"frib-se": *Lis.*, "Ocus dono for sé."

<sup>7</sup> 7 deirim—"n-ebert": omitted in 24. B. 27, 23. M. 47, and 23. M. 50.

<sup>8</sup> 23. C. 19, "Teodbha (?)."

<sup>9</sup> 24. B. 27, 23. M. 47, and 23. M. 50, "fria."

<sup>10</sup> "dia t'fíbh": 24. B. 27, "do rírbh"; *Lis.*, "dia t'fíbh"; 23. M. 47 and 23. M. 50, "dá rírbh."

<sup>11</sup> 23. M. 47, "mbéara"; 23. M. 50, "mbearadh(?)."

<sup>12</sup> Omitted in 24. B. 27, 23. M. 47, and 23. M. 50; *Lis.*, "m'."

<sup>13</sup> 24. B. 27, 23. M. 47, and 23. M. 50, "Dobht."

<sup>14</sup> 24. B. 27, 23. C. 19, "Ædhacán"; *Lis.*, "Aedhacán."

<sup>15</sup> 24. B. 27, 23. M. 47, and 23. M. 50, "Flainn."



tsleabh. [7] ro mharbsat<sup>1</sup> drecht do mhucuibh alltha ann,<sup>2</sup> 7 do radsat bandh do na clérchibh dhibh, 7 tucsat leo dia tigh é 7 ró chuirset for sin ngabáil i cind na teinedh. 7 mar dobh in cleireach a gabail a shalm co facaidh in fer mor chuici ó bhun na tuinne asin loch. Beannachais don chleirech 7 beannachus in cleirech dosum. "Is maith (ar se) na freicearadh<sup>3</sup> in tí atá forsín ngabáil i cind na teinedh thu, 7 na ghebbadh<sup>4</sup> salma leat.<sup>5</sup> "Cread sin itir ón?"<sup>6</sup> ar Cæncomrac. "Nísa (air se). Mainistir fil lindi fón loch-so thios, ar ní dailghi lasin ceimhdhi áitribh daine fó na hufi]scibh<sup>7</sup> ina isna hindadaibh aili; 7 do ronsat macaeimh na mannaistreach imarbhús eo ro chuirít imach i richt muc 7 corab iat<sup>8</sup> ro marbadh aniugh i sliabh Liat-roma, 7 aen dibh sin intí fil for sin ngabhail i cinn na teinedh, 7 is misi a athar collaidhe, 7 ac so a shaltar am laimh, 7 doberim duit sí f.<sup>9</sup> Saltair na nuici atberthi fria iarum, 7 romhair<sup>10</sup> fri ré fada i Cluain mac Nois. In bandh dono at berthi fri hEogan 7 badh hesin in banbh fri béol tuirc. 7<sup>11</sup> ceadaidus Cæncomhrac dosom a bhreith<sup>12</sup> leis dia adhnaeul. "Cidh duit, a chleirigh (ar se) nac tice limsa d'féghad na mannistreach itá fon loch so shíos?"<sup>13</sup> "Ragat" (ar Cæncomrac). Lotar in dís fon loch 7 tiagat isin mainnisdir 7 tic Cæncomrac on tráth co araili innte, 7 tic arnabhárach<sup>14</sup> da tigh 7 sé lán do thruseur in locha. 7 do tathaid[edh] eo minic fon loch, 7 ní bídh dicleidh do uirre o sin imach cein ba beao.

Tictis cleirigh Locha Rí gach Dardain Cásce co hInis Endoim do shaigidh Cæncomraic fo daigin<sup>15</sup> ola do choisrecadh<sup>16</sup> dhóibh 7 do ghnídh<sup>17</sup> som árd 7 aifreann, 7 coisrecadh<sup>18</sup> ola 7 próiceapt dóibh. Ba gnáth fleaghachus<sup>19</sup> isin lo sin iar n-ord 7 iar n-aifreann. Doberar<sup>20</sup> iarum linn 7 bia dona cleirichib

<sup>1</sup> 23. M. 47 and 23. M. 50, "7 ro mharbhud."

<sup>2</sup> "ro mharbsat—ann": omitted in 24. B. 27. "alltha ann": 23. M. 47 and 23. M. 50, "allta san tsliabh"; *Lis.*, "allaid ann."

<sup>3</sup> 24. B. 27, "ro freagradh"; 23. M. 47 and 23. M. 50, "no freagradh."

<sup>4</sup> 24. B. 27, "ro ghebbadh"; 23. M. 47, "ro geabbadh"; 23. M. 50, "no geabbadh."

<sup>5</sup> 23. M. 47, "riot."

<sup>6</sup> "itir on"; 24. B. 27, 23. M. 47, and 23. M. 50 omit.

<sup>7</sup> 23. M. 47 and 23. M. 50, "hulsidhibh."

<sup>8</sup> "corab iat": 23. M. 47 and 23. M. 50, "gurbadh iadh."

<sup>9</sup> "duit sí f": 24. B. 27, 23. M. 47, and 23. M. 50, "sí dhuit f."

<sup>10</sup> 23. M. 47 and 23. M. 50, "ro marbh (!)."

<sup>11</sup> "In bandh dono—tuirc 7": omitted in 24. B. 27, 23. M. 47, and 23. M. 50.

<sup>12</sup> "a bhreith": 24. B. 27, 23. M. 47, and 23. M. 50, "an bhanbh do bhreith."

<sup>13</sup> "so shíos": 23. C. 19, "fa thios." *Lis.*, "sa tíe."

<sup>14</sup> 24. B. 27, 23. M. 47, and 23. M. 50, "arabárach."

<sup>15</sup> 23. C. 19 and 24. B. 27, "daingin."

<sup>16</sup> "ola do choisrecadh": 23. M. 50; 23. C. 19, "ola coisraca"; 24. B. 27, "ola choisraca"; *Lis.*, "ola do choisercadh."

<sup>17</sup> "do ghnídh"; 23. M. 47, "do ní."

<sup>18</sup> *Lis.*, "coisercadh."

<sup>19</sup> *Lis.*, "fledhugad."

<sup>20</sup> 23. M. 47 and 23. M. 50, "doberthar."

amal do-berthí do ghrés. Luidh Cæncomrac uaithibh imach 7 tic<sup>1</sup> urmhór in lai na n-ecmus, 7 tic<sup>2</sup> dia saighit<sup>3</sup> iar sin isin tec i mbátar ic proinniughadh, 7 beanachus doibh 7 beanaighid<sup>4</sup> dosum o'n<sup>5</sup> modh céadna. Atchi na miasa lan do shail aca ica<sup>6</sup> tomuilt 7 gabhus for<sup>7</sup> a cairiugad<sup>8</sup> im thomuilt na saille isin Cargha[i]s, 7 dorat cursachad mór forra, 7 rógabh ferg 7 lonnus dermair e conár fhedsat féghad na aigidh fri ruithneach na diadhachta bui in a ghnú[i]s. Teithit<sup>9</sup> na cléirice roimhe 7 ronghab erith 7 omhan in sháilachta.<sup>10</sup> Teait<sup>11</sup> Cæncomrac immach uatha<sup>12</sup> 7 ní fhacus<sup>13</sup> ó sin ille. 7 ní feas in fón<sup>14</sup> loch dochuaidh do áitreabh isin mainisdir do<sup>15</sup> fhoghnámh do Dhia 7 do dheadhfháine fri forbannuibh arsata,<sup>16</sup> no an<sup>17</sup> aingil rucsat a anam<sup>18</sup> dochum nimhe. 7 nír chaithsiat sruithi Gæidal féoil Charghais dá<sup>19</sup> aithle sin.

<sup>1</sup> Leg. "tuc" (cf. *Silea Gadetica* I, 89).

<sup>2</sup> 24. B. 27, 23. M. 47, and 23. M. 50, "tígeadh."

<sup>3</sup> 24. B. 27, 23. M. 47, and 23. M. 50, "theigh."

<sup>4</sup> 23. C. 19, adds "Caoncomrach." For "beanaighid" *Lis.* reads "bennachais cach."

<sup>5</sup> 23. M. 47 and 23. M. 50, "ar an."

<sup>6</sup> 24. B. 27, "ag."

<sup>7</sup> 24. B. 27, 23. M. 47, and 23. M. 50, "ag."

<sup>8</sup> 24. B. 27, "ceairtíughadh."

<sup>9</sup> 23. M. 47, "teithe"; *Lis.*, "teichit."

<sup>10</sup> "In shaellachta": 24. B. 27, 23. M. 47, and 23. M. 50, "do faolachta."

<sup>11</sup> "crith—Teait": omitted in *Lis.*

<sup>12</sup> 23. C. 19, "uath"; omitted in 24. B. 27.

<sup>13</sup> "ní fhacus": 23. C. 19, "fhactus"; 24. B. 27, "fhacus."

<sup>14</sup> *Lis.*, "fo."

<sup>15</sup> *Lis.*, "co."

<sup>16</sup> "do dheadhfháine—arsata": 24. B. 27, 23. M. 47, and 23. M. 50, "do scarthan fhria claoindeacraibh daoinne"; *Lis.*, "do . . . ocus fri forbannuibh ársata."

<sup>17</sup> Omitted in 23. C. 19.

<sup>18</sup> 23. M. 50, "ainm."

<sup>19</sup> "Charghais dá": 24. B. 27, 23. M. 47, and 23. M. 50, "san Caplaít na."

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